

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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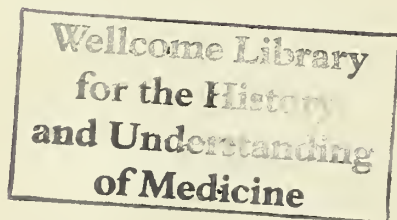
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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.R. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).
 Ak. = Akkadian.
 Alex. = Alexandrian.
 Amer. = American.
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.
 Aq. = Aquila.
 Arab. = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Arm. = Armenian.
 Ary. = Aryan.
 As. = Asiatic.
 Assyr. = Assyrian.
 AT = Altes Testament.
 AV = Authorized Version.
 AVm = Authorized Version margin.
 A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
 Bab. = Babylonian.
 c. = *circa*, about.
 Can. = Canaanite.
 cf. = compare.
 ct. = contrast.
 D = Deuteronomist.
 E = Elohist.
 edd. = editions or editors.
 Eryp. = Egyptian.
 Eng. = English.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
 f. = and following verse or page.
 ff. = and following verses or pages.
 Fr. = French.
 Germ. = German.
 Gr. = Greek.
 H = Law of Holiness.
 Heb. = Hebrew.
 Hel. = Hellenistic.
 Hex. = Hexateuch.
 Himy. = Himyaritic.
 Ir. = Irish.
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.
 J = Jahwist.
 J' = Jehovah.
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.
 Jos. = Josephus.
 LXX = Septuagint.
 Min. = Minean.
 MSS = Manuscripts.
 MT = Massoretic Text.
 n. = note.
 NT = New Testament.
 Onk. = Onkelos.
 OT = Old Testament.
 P = Priestly Narrative.
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
 Pent. = Pentateuch.
 Pers. = Persian.
 Phil. = Philistine.
 Phoen. = Phœnician.
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
 R = Redactor.
 Rom. = Roman.
 RV = Revised Version.
 RVm = Revised Version margin.
 Sab. = Sabæan.
 Sam. = Samaritan.
 Sem. = Semitic.
 Sept. = Septuagint.
 Sin. = Sinaitic.
 Skr. = Sanskrit.
 Symm. = Symmachus.
 Syr. = Syriac.
 t. (following a number) = times.
 Talm. = Talmud.
 Targ. = Targum.
 Theod. = Theodotion.
 TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
 tr. = translated or translation.
 VSS = Versions.
 Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samnel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.	To = Tobit.
	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	He = Hebrews.
Ro = Romans.	Ja = James.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Gal = Galatians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Eph = Ephesians.	Jude.
Ph = Philippians.	Rev = Revelation.
Col = Colossians.	

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-05.
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*³, 1905.
 Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, 3 vols. 1875-78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-88.
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
 Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*², 1895.
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², 1904.
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 2 vols. 1899.
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849-60.
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-96.
 Muir = *Orig. Sanscrit Texts*, 1858-72.
 Müss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*², 1893-94.
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², 1856.
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
 Schaff-Herzog = *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-75.
 Schürer = *GJV*³, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 1899.
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*⁴, 1897.
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*², 1894.
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*³, 1885-96.
 Spencer-Gillen^a = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
 Spencer-Gillen^b = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*³, 1891 [⁴1903].
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-74.
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*², 1897.
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
 AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
 AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
 AHR = American Historical Review.
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
 APF = Archiv für Papyrussforschung.
 AR = Anthropological Review.
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
 BL = Bampton Lectures.
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
 BW = Biblical World.
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

- CAIBL*=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE=Catholic Encyclopedia.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.
CIE=Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscript. Graecarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscript. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
CLR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccl. Latinorum.
DAC=Dict. of the Apostolic Church.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWAW=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI=Encyclopædia of Islâm.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historiarum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1835).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI=Handbook of American Indians.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HL=Hibbert Lectures.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report.
IG=Inscript. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA=Inscript. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-09).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFL=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTb=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTb=Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JRS=Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
*KAT*²=Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1833.
*KAT*³=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
KB or *KIB*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCEI=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary.
OLZ=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Græca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> ³ = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pali Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>REG</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbnch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*², *LOT*⁶, etc.]

HEROES AND HERO-GODS.

General and primitive (A. C. HADDON), p. 633.

American (A. F. CHAMBERLAIN), p. 637.

Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 642.

Buddhist.—See SAINTS (Buddhist).

Celtic.—See CELTS.

Chinese (P. J. MACLAGAN), p. 646.

Egyptian (K. SETHE), p. 647.

Greek and Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 652.

Hebrew (G. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 656.

Indian (H. JACOBI and W. CROOKE), p. 658.

Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 661.

Japanese (M. REVON), p. 662.

Muslim.—See SAINTS (Muslim).

Slavic (J. MACHAL), p. 664.

Teutonic (M. E. SEATON), p. 667.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (General and primitive).—In dealing with hero-cults, one must distinguish between a *manes*- or ancestor-cult arising out of beliefs in ghosts and spirits and the worship which in course of time may come to be offered to the personages of astral and other myths. It is with the latter that the present article is concerned, and not with mythology as such.

The term 'hero' is usually applied to one who stands out from among ordinary mortals by his superior quality or qualities, conspicuous bravery or sustained power of endurance being the distinguishing features. But there is a large class of persons in oral tradition and literature who stand out from their fellows by reason of their inventiveness, or moral or intellectual qualities, by the introduction of new cults, and, above all, by what they have done to improve the various conditions of human existence—these are usually spoken of as 'culture-heroes.' Amongst the renowned dead there are all gradations in oral tradition—from the men who are recognized as mere mortals to those of such transcendent powers that they may be classed as demi-gods or godlings; indeed, it is often impossible to say where the possession of true godship begins. Literary records, however, have been so thoroughly worked over in many cases that a more precise classification is here generally possible.

A hero is nearly always regarded as the spirit of a dead man. His origin may be unknown; his mortal birth may be recorded; or he may have had an equivocal begetting, being the son of a virgin, or of partly divine and partly human parentage; or, again, he may be the son of supernatural parents; but in all cases he is supposed to have lived as a mortal amongst mortals and died as they do.

The belief in the continuity of life may be taken as universal, death being merely an episode between two phases of continuous existence. Under normal conditions the individual possesses the same character after as before death; and, since most persons are friendly to their kinsmen and willing to help them, so spirits, though theoretically resident in a land of their own, are ready to assist those who have not passed through the intermediate state of death. The practice of appealing, especially when danger is imminent, to the spirits or ghosts of men is very widely spread among various peoples. This appeal may take the form of an invocation or of a prayer, or simple rites may be performed, generally at stated times; thus an incipient worship may be performed which could readily pass into a definite cult. At what stage this process is interrupted depends largely upon the social and religious institutions of the people in question; and the extent to which the recognition of heroes attains may vary from time to time, as is shown by the progressive vulgarization of hero-cults by the Ancient Greeks. The hero-cult of Ancient Greece resembled that of the chthonian divinities and of the dead, and was quite distinct from that of the later Olympians. A blending of the two is seen in the case of Herakles:

'So then my inquiries show clearly that Heracles is an ancient god, and those of the Hellenes seem to me to act most rightly who have two temples of Heracles set up, and who sacrifice to the one as an immortal god and with the title of Olympian, and make offerings of the dead to the other as a hero' (Herodotus, ii. 44 [Macaulay]). 'The Teutonic heroes are, in the main, historical personages, never gods; though, like the Greek heroes, they are sometimes endowed with semi-divine attributes or interpreted as symbolical representations of natural forces' (EBR¹¹ xiii. 375).

The question more immediately before us is to determine as far as possible some of the ways in which hero-cults may have arisen among savage communities, but the evidence is by no means so extensive as might have been surmised. Personages who may be described as heroes are plentiful, but their worship, or a cult in connexion with them, is rare.

A people in a purely totemic stage of culture, e.g. the Australian natives, can scarcely originate a *manes*-cult, still less a hero-cult; and, whatever may have been the extraneous cultural influences that have penetrated into Australia, there has not been a development of either of these cults. The case is, however, different for Torres Straits; and what occurs there is given in some detail, as it seems to bring out some suggestive points. Further information will be found in vols. v. and vi. of the *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*.

Among the characters in the folk-tales of the Torres Straits Islanders all grades of individuals are found, from men to demi-gods. About some who were spoken of as men, nothing, or very little, is narrated that is miraculous, they being simple warriors, or people who had adventures. There are others who could transform themselves into animals, or to whom something supernatural happened. Many were transformed into stars, stones, animals, or other objects. None of these individuals affect the social or religious life of the natives to any great extent; they merely serve to point a moral or to explain certain objects or events. These more especially were relegated to a remote past, and some of them were spoken of by the Western Islanders as *ad* or *adi*. This word, according to S. H. Ray (*Reports*, iii. [1907] 89), now signifies a legend or honorific title; but probably it had the same significance as the term *ad* of the Murray Islanders (of the eastern group), which implies anything old and traditional, with the idea of a sanctity that is associated with ancient wont—thus certain of their folk-tales are *ad*, and all sacred and magical stones or objects are *ad*.

This idea of sanctity is also connected in varying degree with the culture-heroes. These belong to different categories. Some introduced improved methods of horticulture or fishing, and it is in this group that the marvellous begins to be prominent. The superior fertility of Murray Island is accounted for by the introduction of garden plants from Badu and Moa by two heroes—which at the same time explains the impoverishment of those two western islands. Two other heroes of the Murray Islands built the local fish-weirs, and taught variations in speech to certain other islanders, and they were

said by some to have instituted the shrine that makes coco-nuts abundant (*u zogo*). A great culture-hero for vegetable food came from New Guinea, whither he returned after visiting the western and eastern islands of Torres Straits; he instructed some islanders in language, stocked several reefs with the much-prized cone shell, and notably introduced plants useful to man. He was a very amatory person, and valuable economic plants sprang up as the result of his amours—one of the many examples of the close association in the mind of savage peoples of the sexual act with agricultural fertility. In the islands he was generally called Sido, but there appears to have been some confusion between Sido and Soido. Sido, as Landtman informs us (*Festschrift til Ed. Westermarck*, p. 59), was a great and highly praised hero in his lifetime, though he became a mischievous character during his wanderings after death. His was the first death, which was also a murder, and all men must die and follow the route of his wanderings; eventually he seems to have become the chief of the after-world. Soido is essentially an agricultural hero.

Certain death-ceremonies were introduced from the neighbouring mainland of New Guinea into some of the islands by two culture-heroes, Naga and Waiat, the relative importance of whom differs according to the island from which the information was obtained. Naga knew how to make masks in the form of animals, and instructed men in singing and dancing and in everything relating to the *kood*, or ceremonial ground; he is stated to have lived on Nagir. Waiat, who, according to one legend, lived on Mabuia, stole a famous fish-mask from Naga. Waiat was represented by a rude and imperfect wooden image which was lodged in a square house on the neighbouring islet of Widal. Only old men had anything to do with the shrine, and whenever the house was rebuilt they held a special death- or spirit-dance, *zara markai*, which was also danced by them after the usual death-dances. Waiat was described as the head or chief of the *tai*, the great funeral ceremony or death-dance, during which the people 'thought about what Waiat did.' We are told that Naga went to Uga, one of the eastern islands, where he taught the people how to perform the death-dance, and that Waiat went to the Murray Islands. According to the Murray Islanders, Waiat (as they call Waiat) introduced the *zera markai* and other death-dances. In Waiat, the smallest of the three Murray Islands, Waiat was represented by a turtle-shell image of a man, which rested against the railings of a model of the platform of a canoe. No women were allowed to see these sacred objects, which were kept in a cave. There was an annual pilgrimage of all the people of Mer and Dauar, the other two islands, to the shrine; the men and novitiates were segregated on one side of the island, and the women and children on the other, this being the occasion for an elaborate initiation ceremony. The essential cult of Waiat on Waiat, so far as our information goes, was of an erotic character.

Kwoiam, the warrior hero of Mabuia, who fought natives of various islands, and even successfully and single-handed attacked a village in New Guinea, lived with his mother, her brothers and sisters, and his sister's son. This family-group constituted what may be termed the 'social unit' of a matrilineal community, the father being so unimportant that his name has not been handed down. Kwoiam is said to have had the shovel-nosed skate for his totem (*augud*), which, amongst other circumstances, points to the Kwoiam cult as being later than totemism. Kwoiam made two crescentic objects of turtle-shell, which blazed with light when he wore them at night, and which

he nourished with the savour of cooked fish. These objects were called *augud* (presumably because the natives did not know by what other sacred name to call them), and they became the insignia of the two phratries into which the totem clans of Mabuia were formerly grouped. In this island Kwoiam was designated as *adi*, and occasionally he himself was spoken of as *augud*. In the Muralug group of islands he was regarded as the 'big *augud*,' and the '*augud* of every one in the island.' Connected with the cult of Kwoiam were two heaps of shells, called navels of the *augud*, which were constructed to show that the two *augud*-emblems originated there; and, when it was deemed necessary to fortify the latter, they were placed upon their respective navel-shrines. The cult of Kwoiam was associated with warfare, and when attacking an enemy the warriors formed in two columns, each of which was led by a headman who wore the Kwoiam emblem to which he was entitled. The moral value of the *augud* in war must have been very great, and the natives themselves recognized the fact; as one man said: 'Suppose we have not got an *augud*, how can we fight?' It is recorded that on one occasion the victorious Mabuia men refused to continue fighting the Moa men on account of the temporary absence of the two *augud*-men. The Moa men also had magical emblems associated with Kwoiam, but these were less potent than those of Mabuia, 'because Kwoiam belongs to Mabuia and not to Moa.' The *augud* had to be treated with respect: in one foray a warrior in excess of zeal ran on in front of the column, but he stumbled and nearly broke his leg because he went in front of the relics, which should always go first, as Kwoiam was wont to do. Kwoiam's mother originally came from an island near Cape York. There are very consistent accounts that in his physical appearance and psychological characteristics he resembled Australians and not Papuans. He fought with an Australian javelin and spear-thrower, indeed, 'all he did was Mainland fashion'; he, his mother, and his nephew 'always kept to themselves, and were like Mainlanders.' It is said that the natives of Cape York Peninsula also talk of Kwoiam.

As Kwoiam was an inspiring feature in the life of the inhabitants of the western islands, so a group of brethren played a similar part for the natives of the central and eastern islands. The migrations and adventures of these heroes are enshrined in various legends which are current in several islands, though there is much obscurity and contradiction. The more probable version brings them from New Guinea, the other from Australia or some island to the south. According to the former version, the hero Bomai went to several islands, and during his journeyings he temporarily changed himself into various animals. On approaching Yam, he gave birth to his brothers Sigar (Sigai) and Kulka. Sigar remained on Yam, Kulka went to Aurid, and Bomai to the Murray Islands. Some versions mention a brother named Seo, who went to Masig.

According to one tale, Sigai and Maiau were the two brothers who went to Yam, and each became associated, in his animal form, with one of the two phratries. A shrine was erected to each, which consisted of a long low hut containing a turtle-shell model representing respectively a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile, and under each of these was a stone in which the spirit, the so-called *augud*, resided, and to them were attached human skulls and jaws. Outside the enclosure which screened the shrines from profane gaze were two heaps of shells which, as in the cult of Kwoiam, had a mystical connexion with the shrines, and were similarly termed 'navels of the *augud*.' The

shrines were so sacred that no uninitiated persons might visit them, nor did they know what they contained; they were aware of the existence of Sigai and Maiau, but they did not know that the former was a hammer-headed shark and the latter a crocodile; this mystery was too sacred to be imparted to the uninitiated. When the heroes were addressed, it was always by their human names, and not by their animal or totem names. Warriors would be enabled to go immune whither they liked if they sang certain songs at the shrines. They prayed as follows: 'O *Augud* Sigai and *Augud* Maiau, both of you close the eyes of these men so that they cannot see us.' There was also a navel-shrine of Sigai on Tutu (Yam and Tutu were inhabited at different seasons by the same people). Before going to fight, the men stood around it, or around those on Yam, and thrust their bows and arrows into it so that they might not miss their aim; and during the fight they called upon the names of the heroes.

Judging from the human face-mask decorated with human skulls from Aurid, which almost certainly represents Kulkka, we may surmise that there was a cult of that hero there, which was probably a war-cult.

So far as the Murray Islands are concerned, it appears that Bomai, who was often spoken of as Malu, came first and was recognized as a *zogo*, i.e. something sacred; he was represented by a human face-mask, with a beard of human jaw-bones. Later, Malu arrived with a fleet of canoes from various western islands in search of Bomai. Malu also became a *zogo*, and was represented by a mask in the form of a hammer-headed shark. The foreigners exhibited certain dances in order to please their hosts, and then returned home. The Bomai-Malu cult predominated in the Murray Islands over all other cults, and the sacred men in connexion with it attained a considerable power, which they often used for their private ends. This cult had elaborate and prolonged initiation ceremonies, and appears to have been a secret society or religious fraternity which took upon itself disciplinary functions; indeed, it was very similar to some of the secret societies that are found in Melanesia.

The western and central islands are not particularly fertile, so the natives spend a good deal of their time in fishing, and there is considerable intercourse between the various islands, due to trade or warfare. Here the hero-cults developed into war-cults. The isolated Murray Islands are fertile, and the people are much given to horticulture; thus there was little inducement for the hero-cult to develop into a war-cult, and it concerned itself more with the social life of the people, and the three temporary sacred men were on the way to become priests.

Totemism was still in force in the western and central islands at the time of the arrival of the hero-cults, but it had probably already disappeared in the Murray Islands. Everywhere, but perhaps more particularly in the eastern islands, there were numerous small family or local rituals, most of which were concerned with improving the food supply. A religion then appeared which replaced in the west the indefinite communal association of a totem with its clan by a definite personal relation with a superhuman being, and it is no wonder that it spread, being carried from island to island. These cults also provided both the Western and the Eastern Islanders with a synthesis which had hitherto been lacking, as the men could now meet as members of a common brotherhood, and a feeling of intense pride in new cults was engendered.

An interesting parallel to these hero-cults of Torres Straits occurs in Fiji. The people of Viti-

Levu are divided into two groups, the Kai Veisina and the Kai Rukuruku, which trace their descent from Veisina and Rukuruku, who drifted across the big ocean and taught the people the cult associated with the large stone enclosures, *nanga*. Veisina arrived first, and where he landed the turmeric plant sprang up; where Rukuruku first placed his foot the candle-nut grew. Their followers paint themselves respectively with the yellow or black pigment obtained from these plants. When the two heroes landed, they said: 'Let us go to the Chief of Vitongo and ask him to divide his men between us that we may teach them the *nanga*, for which purpose we have come to Fiji' (Joske, *Internat. Arch. für Ethnogr.* ii. 258). The last clause points to a definite propaganda, and it is possible that a similar movement may have taken place in Torres Straits, since there is not the slightest trace in tradition or elsewhere of secular aggression.

The great mythological personages of southern Melanesia are Qat of the Banks Group, Tagaro of the New Hebrides, and certain of their brothers. Qat, who had a mother but no father, is usually regarded as a spirit (*vui*) that never was a man, though in some places he is said to have been a great man of old times. Codrington (*Melanesians*, p. 155) says:

'It is impossible to take Qat very seriously or to allow him divine rank. . . . When he is said to create, he is adding only to the furniture of the world in which he was born.'

It is related of him that he made men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him, and also night. He was always ready to play tricks on his envious brothers, but not in malice. He disappeared by his canoe (in which were his wife, brothers, and all living creatures) being washed out to sea in a deluge. At the legendary home of Qat,

'there is still the stump of a tree which Qat cut down for his canoe; . . . men who are cutting a canoe make sacrifices at this stump, throwing down money there that their canoe may be swift and strong and never wrecked' (p. 141 f.). 'The *tataro* of the Banks Islands, which may be called a prayer, is strictly an invocation of the dead. . . . The Banks Islanders are clear that *tataro* is properly made only to the dead; yet the spirits, *vui*, Qat and Marawa [the spider, a friend of his] are addressed in the same way' (p. 146).

They were prayed to for success, riches, safety when at sea, and other blessings. In the New Hebrides Tagaro takes the place of Qat. In the Banks Islands and northern New Hebrides there is an institution called *Qat*, into which a rigorous secret initiation is necessary, the *Qat* itself being a very elaborate and difficult dance in which the performers wear lofty hats or masks. Codrington says that 'the name *Qat* refers to the hats and not to the *vui*' (p. 85), and he does not allude to any connexion between the dance and the spirit. It is obvious that there is yet a great deal to learn about Qat and Tagaro, and what has been stated above probably holds good for various mythical personages in Melanesia. Qat (Tagaro) apparently represents a human ghost in process of being sublimated into a pure spirit.

The case of the Polynesian cosmic hero, Maui, is a good example of the difficulty with which a hero can become an actual and worshipped deity. The Maui legends, in a complete or fragmentary form, are found all over Polynesia and in parts of Melanesia and Micronesia; they are undoubtedly of remote antiquity, and certainly can be traced to the pre-historic Polynesians; indeed, several hints of Hindu influence have been detected in them. Maui is generally spoken of as the youngest of four brothers bearing the same name. There is much diversity of opinion as to his ancestry, though it is generally stated that his parents were supernatural beings. Although he lived a thoroughly human life, he was possessed of supernatural powers in addition to an inventive mind and a very tricky

and mischievous disposition. He was 'the fisherman who pulls up islands,' and he improved fish-traps and rendered fish-hooks and fish-spears more efficacious by adding barbs. According to different Polynesian legends, Maui raised the sky, which till then had not been separated from the earth, and thus rendered the earth habitable for his fellow-men. He was also 'the ensnarer of the sun,' permitting him to pursue his course only on the condition that he went more slowly in order to increase the length of the day. Maui, by the aid of his cunning and magical powers, gave fire to mankind, and some legends make him the fire-teacher as well as the fire-finder, as he taught men how to make fire by the friction of two sticks. In seeking immortality for man Maui lost his life. There is a native saying: 'If Maui had not died, he could have restored to life all who had gone before him, and thus succeeded in destroying death.' 'Maui's death by his ancestress the Night fitly ends his solar career' (Tylor, *PC* i. 345).

Westervelt, from whom some of the foregoing information has been borrowed, remarks: 'It is a little curious that around the different homes of Maui, there is so little record of temples and priests and altars. He lived too far back for priestly customs. His story is the rude mythical survival of the days when of church and civil government there was none, and worship of the gods was practically unknown' (*Legends of Maui*, p. 11). R. Taylor says: 'Though regarded [in New Zealand] as a god, he does not appear to have been generally prayed to as one; yet he was invoked for their *kumara* [sweet potato] crops and success in fishing' (*Te Ika a Maui*², p. 133).

If any hero deserved worship it was Maui, and yet even he does not appear to have achieved it. Tylor points out that

'Tangaroa and Maui are found blending in Polynesia even to full identification. It is neither easy nor safe to fix to definite origin the Protean shapes of South Sea mythology, but on the whole the native myths are apt to embody cosmic ideas, and as the idea of the Sun preponderates in Maui, so the idea of the Heaven in Tangaroa' (*op. cit.* ii. 346).

The Polynesian Creator is called Kanaroa in Hawaii, Taaroa in Tahiti, Tangaroa in Mangaia and New Zealand, Tangaloa in Samoa and Tonga. In Tahiti some maintained that 'Taaroa was only a man who was deified after death' (Ellis, *Polyn. Researches*, i. 323), though by others he was spoken of as the progenitor of the other gods. Tangaroa was not a very important personage in Mangaia, for he had only one *marae*, or altar, and that was almost neglected, the only offering ever presented being the firstfruits of newly planted coco-nut palms (Gill, *Myths and Songs*, p. 19). He can be linked up with Tagaro of the New Hebrides and with Qat of the Banks Islands, whose brothers were Tangaro the Wise, Tangaro the Fool, etc. It would be tedious to detail the various heroic figures that appear in the legendary lore of Oceania, but the samples selected will suffice to indicate their general character, which finds parallels all the world over.

The majority of tales about heroes belong to those classed as myths, since their object is essentially ætiological. The residue are more correctly termed legends, being narratives of what is believed to have happened, though these hero-tales in many cases may be degraded myths. It has often been stated that mythology is the source neither of religion nor of morality, but of science, philosophy, poetry, and history. The tale or myth about a hero may serve to explain natural phenomena, may be in itself an interesting and amusing narrative, may inculcate social observances or illustrate the danger of neglecting them, may stimulate the listener to high endeavour, or may evoke the feeling of mystery and awe. All this may be accomplished without the hero being worshipped; e.g., no worship is accorded to the culture-heroes—often 'transformers' and even tricksters—of the North American Indians, more especially those of the north-west coast, which fact may well be due to the absence of any manes-

cult and to the existence of the belief in *manitu*. It is probably very rare for all the myths of a given people to be indigenous, but many have been borrowed along with other cultural elements at various times. With the myth comes the hero, and, whoever he was in his place of origin, he speedily becomes naturalized, and in his new home places where certain incidents took place are pointed out, and many rocks or other natural objects testify to the truth of the tale, nor does it matter though these should be reduplicated in various localities. The vitality of the myth depends less upon its explanatory significance than upon the personality of the hero, but the development of a cult of the hero would seem to depend upon the socio-religious condition of the recipients.

From an examination of the evidence from Torres Straits, it would seem that, though several men of olden time may fairly be termed culture-heroes, yet no practical notice is taken of them—another illustration of the remark that a prophet has no honour in his own country. Those who have attained such recognition are Kwoiam the Australian, Waiat, and Bomai and his companions, who came from New Guinea. For what causes may we assume that they were honoured? The answer here seems to be that it was the introduction of a new religious cult that reacted socially. The introduction of fearsome masks and new death-dances stimulated the imagination and the religious feelings of the recipients. The valorous deeds and evident supernatural power of the Australian berserker not unnaturally gave rise to a war-cult. The following testimony from a native indicates how patriotism may be engendered in a savage:

'The fame of Kwoiam caused the name of Mabuag to be feared for many a long day, and, although the island was rocky and comparatively infertile, Kwoiam covered it with honour and glory, thus showing how the deeds of a single man can glorify a place in itself of little worth' (*Reports*, v. 83).

The cult of the mysterious brethren is more difficult to explain. It is obvious that, whatever it was originally, it developed into a war-cult in the western and central islands, but the bellicose aspect died of inanition in the Murray Islands. It probably would not matter whether totemism were flourishing or waning when the new cultural influences came in from New Guinea; they introduced new religious ideas, and were not hampered by local totemic restrictions. Thus a wider social grouping became possible, the members of which were united by a common religious sentiment and cult. Additional strength would be given to the movement were it originally or ultimately connected with warfare. We are justified in concluding that here, and probably elsewhere, totemism did not develop into a hero-cult, but rather that this was grafted on to the existing totemism and eventually more or less supplanted it. It has not yet been determined whether these hero-cults originated in New Guinea, or, as is more probable, wandered from further afield, gathering mystery in their progress. What were the heroes in their home country? The problems of the Torres Straits heroes are simple compared with those of Melanesia and Polynesia. The hero, apart from the ancestor, has slight chance of being worshipped while he is still recognized as a human ghost. Time, distance, or forgetfulness may transform him into a spirit that never was a man, and a cult may begin; the same agencies may continue the process, aided perhaps by other cultural influences; and a worshipful godling or even god may have developed. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*.

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A. C. HADDON.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (American).—

1. Extent and distribution.—Primitive America is, in a sense, the land *par excellence* of heroes and hero-gods, and its most characteristic myths and legends are those which deal with the birth, growth from infancy up to manhood, exploits, and achievements of such more or less divine or wonderful personages. Nor is the rôle of hero-god confined to man or superman alone, for the whole animal world, in its most remarkable diversities of kinds and of species, finds representatives also in the numerous divinities and semi-divinities on record—in the mythologies, national legends, etc., of the American Indian tribes from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, and over the broad expanse of the double continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. D. G. Brinton, the first ethnologist to devote to this interesting topic a special monograph, says, in his *American Hero-Myths* (p. 27):

'The native tribes of this Continent had many myths, and among them there was one which was so prominent, and re-curred with such strangely similar features in localities widely asunder, that it has for years attracted my attention, and I have been led to present it as it occurs among several nations far apart, both geographically and in point of culture. This myth is that of the national hero, their mythical civilizer and teacher of the tribe, who, at the same time, was often identified with the supreme deity and the creator of the world. It is the fundamental myth of a very large number of American tribes, and on its recognition and interpretation depends the correct understanding of most of their mythology and religious life.'

James Mooney expresses himself thus on the same subject (*14 REEV*, pt. ii. p. 658):

'Probably every Indian tribe, north and south, had its early hero god, the great doer or teacher of all first things, from the Iuskeha and Manahozho of the ruder Iroquoian and Algonquian to the Quetzalcoatl, the Bochica, and the Viracocha of the more cultivated Aztecs, Muisca, and Quichuas of the milder southland.'

The range of the culture-hero and hero-god among the American Indians is very great:

'Among the roving tribes of the north this hero is hardly more than an expert magician, frequently degraded to the level of a common trickster, who, after ridding the world of giants and monsters, and teaching his people a few simple arts, retires to the upper world to rest and smoke until some urgent necessity again requires his presence below. Under softer southern skies the myth takes more poetic form, and the hero becomes a person of dignified presence, a father and teacher of his children, a very Christ, worthy of all love and reverence, who gathers together the wandering nomads and leads them to their destined country, where he instructs them in agriculture, housebuilding, and the art of government, regulates authority, and inculcates peaceful modes of life. . . . When at last his work is well accomplished, he bids farewell to his sorrowing subjects, whom he consoles with the sacred promise that he will one day return and resume his kingdom, steps into his magic boat by the seashore, and sails away out of their sight to the distant land of sunrise' (*ib.*).

Such a figure, e.g., was the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, for whom the Indians mistook Cortez, the destroyer of their native culture, thinking that he was their hero returning. Elsewhere in primitive America the white man (but very briefly, since his acts soon betrayed him) has been thought a returning hero or divinity. With these ancient hero-gods of theirs some of the Indian peoples were prone to identify the Christ of the European religions.

The culture-hero idea is often more typically American than that of deity. After pointing out that 'gods are a conception that does not flourish among the American Indians,' in his sketch of 'Types of Indian Culture in California,' A. L. Kroeber says (p. 91 f.):

'The Indian substitute for the deity is the culture-hero. The god creates; by the introduction of character he can be differentiated, and the interaction of distinct deities makes god myths. The culture hero is a man; he is always alone. Where he occurs in several personages in one mythology, these are

only repetitions of one another. In North and South America he is the same. Now he is more heroic, dignified, even pathetic, a benefactor and teacher; now more inquisitive, enterprising, obscene, and ridiculous. It is a commonplace that his character varies between these qualities from episode to episode in the same mythology. But he is always a man in spirit, and he always stands alone in his world. He makes the world or remakes it from existing earth brought him by an assistant animal; he does not create it. He changes individual men, co-existent with him, to animals; he does not create the world's animals and plants. He does not create man, but finds and helps him. He is the one and the only possible character of American mythology; he is the Indian himself in his nakedness.'

Of course, there are exceptions to this general statement, but Kroeber remarks that 'even those specific cases that are exceptions usually rest on a wider basis that conforms with the conditions here described' (p. 92).

2. Human heroes.—The child as hero and hero-god among the American Indians has already been touched upon (see art. CHILDREN [American], vol. iii. p. 525). Much valuable information concerning human heroes in the mythology of the N. American Indians will be found in Lowie's monograph on 'The Test-Theme' (*JAF* xxi. [1908] 97-148), where the conclusion is reached that 'a majority of North American test-tales have human heroes and a human setting' (p. 132). He remarks further (p. 134):

'So far as the tales related of sun and moon are concerned, far-reaching similarities distinguishing them as a group from human folk-tales cannot be detected. Solar and lunar heroes are human beings named after, or somehow identified with, sun and moon.' Again (p. 132): 'The test-theme, in its fundamental ideas, the imposition of a difficult or dangerous task and a mutual or competitive trial of strength, is evidently derived from human experience.'

Among the test-themes noted by Lowie in N. American Indian tales are the following:

Flight to the sky, snapping-door, tests by cruel relatives spine-seat, wedge test, capture of animals, fights with animals, striking trees, *vagina dentata*, sweat-house, fire ordeal, trials of strength, trip to the under world, pushing hero down a precipice, attempt to drown hero, falling trees, hero swallowed by clam, fish, etc., hero sent to get berries in winter and like errands, imitation of host, killing monsters, etc.

Lowie discusses briefly, under the head of hero-tales, these types:

Western 'transformer' myths, myths of the Californian Maidu, 'lodge-boy' and 'thrown-away' cycle (Plains Indians, etc.), Pueblo twin myths, rabbit-cycle (Ponka, Menomini), blood-clot cycle (Blackfoot, Pawnee, Dakota, Arapaho, Gros Ventre), star-boy (Crow, Pawnee, Dakota, Arapaho, Kiowa, Gros Ventre, Blackfoot).

Details concerning some of these heroes will be found in Grinnell's *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (1903) and *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales* (1889); G. A. Dorsey's *Pawnee Mythology* (1906), *Mythology of the Wichita* (1904), *Traditions of the Arikara* (1904); G. A. Dorsey and A. L. Kroeber's *Traditions of the Arapaho* (1903).

Among the Plains tribes the 'poor boy' seems to be a common and favourite hero in folk-tales. With the Arikara, as with the Skidi Pawnee, according to Dorsey (*Trad. of Arikara*, p. 6), 'the poor boy . . . is the culture-hero, while Coyote, the great transformer of the Northwest, takes a very inferior part.' The chief heroes of this sort among the Caddo are Star-Boy, Sun-Boy, and Burnt-Hands—the last the Burnt-Belly of the Skidi Pawnee. Similar heroes are the following, in one way or another: the Wintun (California) Boy-dug-out-of-the-ground, Micmac Spring-Boy, Gros Ventre Found-in-the-grass, Bellacoola and Chleotin Salmon-Boy, Cherokee Boy-with-sero-fula, Ponka and Menomini Rabbit, etc.

According to Boas (*JAF* xvii. [1904] 2), 'the most striking feature of Eskimo folk-lore is its thoroughly human character,' and 'with the exception of a number of trifling tales and of a small number of longer tales, the events which form the subject of their traditions occur in human society as it exists now.' Stories telling of the feats of animals are rare, and animal-stories proper may have been borrowed from the Indians by the Eskimos. This opinion as to the rarity of animal stories among the Eskimos is not, however, shared

by Radin (see art. *ESKIMOS*, vol. v. p. 393), who assigns a larger rôle to animal actors in Eskimo legends. Bogoras, who has made a comparative study of the folk-lore of north-eastern Asia and that of north-western America, informs us (*Amer. Anthropol.*, new ser., iv. [1902] 605) that 'the general character of the Chukchee and Eskimo tales is quite alike, and the chief topics on both sides of Bering Sea are about the same.' Hero-children and human heroes are common in both. The prevalence of human heroes in the folk-tales of the South American Indians (see art. *CHILDREN [American]*) will doubtless appear when we know more about this rather neglected field of primitive mythology, and the characters interpreted as personifications of sun and moon are revealed in their true nature, as has been the case with so many figures in the mythology of the northern continent.

3. Typical heroes and culture-heroes.—The Aztec Quetzalcoatl, the Mayan Itzamna, the Chibchan Bochica, and the Quechuan Viracocha have been discussed at considerable length by Brinton in his *American Hero-Myths, Myths of the New World*, etc., and by more recent authorities. They are fairly comparable with some of the great culture-heroes of the Old World. The deeds that they accomplished include the cleaning up of the monster-ridden world, the establishment of society and human civilization—all things, from making the earth fit for mankind to making mankind fit for the new earth. As in the Old World, so in the New, their memory is connected alike with the Paradise that once was and with that which is some time again to come. Besides such great figures as these there are scores of others less majestic and less attractive.

Concerning the culture-heroes of some of the tribes of the North-west Pacific Coast, F. Boas says (*Indianische Sagen*, p. 339):

'What gives the traveller (or wanderer)-tale its character, in this region, is the sharp distinction of the culture-deity from the "Eulenspiegel." Neither the Cikla of the Chinook, nor the Qals of the Coast Salish, the Kumsnoot of the Comox, the two Travellers of the Nulka, nor the K'angiyak' of the Newetee play, in connection with their culture-mission, such tricks as do the Raven in northern British Columbia, the Glooscap of the Micmacs, the Manabozho of the Ojibwa, the Napi of the Blackfeet, the Coyote of the tribes of the southern Rocky Mountains, or the "Boatman" of the northern Athapascans.

Such tricks are not entirely lacking, but are transferred to different animals or other beings, such as the Bluejay among the Chinook, the Mink and the Raven among the Coast Salish, Comox, and Newetee, as Kwotiath, the Mink, and the Raven among the Nulkas. The Shuswap have not made so sharp a distinction, and, through their influence, the separation is not so clear among the Fraser River tribes as among the other Coast peoples. The separation is clearest among the Coast Salish and the Bilqula. The Coast Salish of Puget Sound have likewise not carried out the distinction.'

Boas has also discussed the question of the hero and the transformer in his Introduction to Teit's 'Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of Brit. Col.' (*Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* vi. [1898] 1-12).

The general character of the hero-myth of the Californian aborigines is briefly sketched by A. L. Kroeber in his art. on 'The Religion of the Indians of California.' The primary feature of the mythologies of the Indians of the north-western part of the State is 'a very deeply impressed conception of a previous, now vanished, race, who, by first living the life and performing the actions of mankind, were the producers of all human institutions and arts as well as of some of the phenomena of nature'; while second in importance are 'myths dealing with culture heroes more or less of the trickster type familiar from so many other parts of North America' (p. 243). In central California, where there 'is always a true creation of the world, of mankind, and of its institutions,' the creator seldom has 'tricky exploits or defeats' attributed to him—such things belong to an antithetic secondary creature, usually the Coyote. In the

northern half of the central area, however, 'the creator is generally anthropomorphic; if not, he is merged into one personage with the more or less tricky Coyote.' In southern California appears the long origin-myth of a thoroughly south-western and Pueblo character. The mythology of the southern part of California resembles that of the south-west rather than that of the rest of the State. As Kroeber notes (p. 344), the mythology of the north-western region of California 'shows affinities to the North Pacific Coast in its prevalence of the culture-hero and trickster over the creator.'

The Maidu of northern central California furnish us with Kodoyanpe (Earth-Namer, or Earth-Maker), a transformer-creator type; also Onkoito, 'a supernaturally born destroyer, conqueror, and avenger.' The northern Wintun conception of Olelbis 'shows a developed and a lofty conception of a creator,' while among the southern Wintun 'there is little antithesis between creator and Coyote in the creation myth.' In the mythology of the Shasta, Coyote is both creator and trickster, although the resemblance to the mythology of the north-western area is not very great. The Klamath (or Lutuani) K'mukamitch, or Old Man, 'is not the "good creator" of the Maidu Wintun, Yuki, and Wishoshk; he is deceitful, with the character of the typical culture-hero trickster.' In many things, indeed, he suggests the Algonkian Manabozho.

The Ojibwa Nanibojn or Nanabozhu, the Mississauga Nanibozhu or Wanibozhu, the Sautaux Ojibwa Nenaboj or Nanabush, the Ottawa Nenabozhu, the Menomini Manabozho or Manabush, the Nipissing Nenaboj, all correspond to the Cree Wisaketchak, and, more or less, to the Blackfoot Napi or Napiin, the Micmac Glooscap, etc. The stories of the deeds and exploits of this hero-god, who figures in the creation-myth and the deluge-legends of these Indians, who taught them many of the arts and inventions, and who sometimes deceived as well as helped them, have been correlated and discussed by Chamberlain (*JAFI* iv. [1891] 193-213). The most detailed account of some of the deeds of this Algonkian culture-hero is given in W. J. Hoffmann's article and monograph on the Menomini Indians (*14 RBW*, pt. i. pp. 3-328). The culture-hero of the Sacs and Foxes (also Algonkian) is Wisa'ka. A contest with the manitous appears in the story of Wisa'ka recorded by Jones (*Fox Texts*, pp. 336-379), which includes the flood-legend:

'The theme of the following story is the struggle of the culture-hero to subdue the manitous and make the world ready for the people who are to come after. It is the most sacred myth of the Foxes; and with the Sauks it is the myth on which rests the *midewiwin*, a religious society which preserves the most sacred forms of religious worship. It is in two parts: first, the struggle of the culture-hero with the manitous, in which the death of his brother, the flood, and the defeat of the manitous are the leading events; second, the pacification of the culture-hero by the manitous, and the restoration of peace, preliminary to setting the world in order for a home of the people' (p. 336).

This subjugation of the manitous is also one of the labours of Manabozho or Nanabozhu among the Ojibwas, etc. The culture-hero myth of the Sacs and Foxes has been recorded by Jones (*JAFI* xiv. [1901] 225-239). After preparing the earth for mankind and driving off the manitous, who had sought to destroy him, Wisa'ka proceeded as follows (p. 237):

'Wisa'kaha then created the people, making the first men and the first women out of clay, that was as red as the reddest blood [hence the Indian name of the Foxes, *Meskwa' Kāgi*, 'Red-Earths']. And he made them after the race of his mother. He taught them how to hunt, and he taught them how to grow food in the fields; he taught them all kinds of sports, and he taught them how to live peacefully with one another; he taught them how to sing and dance and pray, and he taught them all manner of other good things.'

Then he left the people, going away to live in

the north, but promising to return one day to take them to their new home in the west, where they were to dwell for ever with their kindred who had gone before them. Wisa'kā is represented as being ever youthful. The culture-myth relates in detail 'the divinity's benevolent acts toward men, his teaching the people the way to live, and his preparation for them of a home after death in the spirit world.'

In his *Fox Texts* (1907) Jones published (pp. 228-379) a number of stories of the culture-hero Wisa'kā, concerning whom he observes (p. 228):

'The stories to follow are typical of that mass of narrative in which the culture-hero moves, now as a buffoon doing tricks to others and having them done to him, and now as a benefactor and as an altruistic character. Sometimes he is peevish and whimpering, like a spoiled child, and stoops to acts most degrading for the accomplishment of an end; and again he rises to the dignity of a wise, all-powerful deity. He is almost always represented as dwelling with his grandmother, whom the Foxes symbolize as the Earth.'

In one instance only is Wisa'kā referred to as having wife or children. In some of his difficulties his grandmother comes to his aid. He comes to grief often in trying to imitate his host (e.g. skunk or duck); he accepts challenges, and thereby becomes a victim of his own foolishness.

Of Glooscap, the culture-hero of the Micmac and closely related Algonkian Indians of Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, Charles G. Leland says, in *The Algonquin Legends of New England* (p. 2), that, while he is an appalling giant in his contests with huge monsters and other creatures,

'in the family circle he is the most benevolent of gentle heroes, and has his oft-repeated little standard jokes. Yet he never, like the Manabozho-Biawatha of the Chippewas, becomes silly, cruel, or fantastic. He has his roaring revel with a brother giant, even as Thor went fishing in fierce fun with the frost god, but he is never low or feeble.'

He informs us further (p. 13) that 'Glooscap is always a gentleman.'

Edward Sapir ('Wishram Texts,' *Publ. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.* ii. [1909] p. xi) says of one of his Indian informants, who is 'theoretically a Methodist,' but in mind-content 'to all intents and purposes an unadulterated Indian,' that

'he implicitly believes in the truth of all the myths he narrated, no matter how puerile or ribald they might seem. Coyote he considers as worthy of the highest respect, despite the ridiculous and lascivious sides of his character; and with him he is strongly inclined to identify the Christ of the whites, for both he and Coyote lived many generations ago, and appeared in this world in order to better the lot of mankind.'

Other culture-heroes are recorded from the various American Indian tribes, besides the 'transformers' of the North Pacific coast region treated of by Boas, in his *Indianische Sagen* (1895), and in the mythological data of the Jesup Expedition, published by the American Museum of Natural History (New York), and besides the cycle of animal and bird heroes and semi-heroes of the Pacific slope, such as Raven, Blue-Jay, Coyote, and Mink. The following may be mentioned:

Klanath K'mukamteh; the 'Old Man' of many western tribes of North America; the Hidatsa Hamapisa; the Mandan Numucknuckah; the Arapaho Nihangap; the Cherokee Wasi; the Cheyenne Vihuk; the Tarascan Quacabaris; the Central American Kukulkan and Yotán; the Moxo Arama; the Guarayo Abaangui; the Tupian Carubung and Maire Monon; the Pareisi Usale; the Guayayru Karakara; the Bakairi Kamushini; the Carayan Kaboi; the Arawakan Kamu; the Guaraní Tamoi; the Izi of the tribes on the Uaupes; the Guaranan Aboyé.

Some brief details concerning many of the South American heroes and culture-heroes will be found in Ehrenreich's *Die Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker* (Berlin, 1905).

4. Culture-hero, clown, deceiver.—In an article on 'The Hero-God of the Algonkins as a Cheat and a Liar,' published first in the *American Antiquarian* in 1885 and then again in his *Essays of an Americanist* (1890, pp. 130-134), D. G. Brinton called attention to the curious fact of the attribution to certain culture-heroes of the Algonkian

Indians of the characteristics of trickery, deceit, lying, and clownishness of various sorts. This was illustrated from the name of the culture-hero of the Micmacs, Glooscap (*Glus-gahbe*, 'juggler with words,' 'word-breaker,' 'deceiver'); and a similar meaning was said to attach to the Cree *Wisaketchak*, the analogue of Glooscap with this western Algonkian tribe. Speaking of Michabo, to whom innumerable tricks are attributed, Brinton says (*Essays of an Americanist*, p. 133):

'Michabo does not conquer his enemies by brute force, nor by superior strength, but by craft and ruses, by transforming himself into unexpected shapes, by cunning and strategy. He thus comes to be represented as the arch-deceiver; but in a good sense, as his enemies on whom he practises these wiles are also those of the human race, and he exercises his powers with a benevolent intention.

'Thus it comes to pass that this highest divinity of these nations, their chief god and culture-hero, bears in familiar narrative the surprising titles—"the liar," "the cheat," and "the deceiver."

In *The Myths of the New World*, however, Brinton gives another view of the matter, as follows (p. 194):

'In many of the tales which the whites have preserved of Michabo he seems half a wizard, half a simpleton. He is full of pranks and wiles, but often at a loss for a meal of victuals; ever itching to try his magic arts on great beasts and often meeting ludicrous failures therein; envious of the powers of others, and constantly striving to outdo them in what they do best; in short, little more than a malicious buffoon, delighting in practical jokes, and abusing his superhuman powers for selfish and ignoble ends.

'But this is a low, modern, and corrupt version of the character of Michabo, bearing no more resemblance to his real and ancient one than the language and acts of our Saviour and the Apostles in the coarse Mystery Plays of the Middle Ages do to those recorded by the Evangelists.'

That some of the Indians under Christian influence may have turned to ridicule their old gods is quite possible. J. A. Cuq (*L'Algonq.*, Montreal, 1886, s.v. 'Wisakedjak,' p. 443), c.g., says:

'The word *Wisakedjak* is now employed only derisively by Christian peoples. With them, *Wisakedjak*, like *Nenabojé*, is about synonymous with monkey (*singe*) in a figurative sense. Thus, it is said of anybody who imitates what he sees done, "He is a *Wisakedjak*."

J. D. Prince, in his introduction to *Kulóskap, the Master*, says concerning *Kulóskap* (Glooscap), the culture-hero of the Micmacs, Passamaquoddies, and Penobscots (p. 33):

'Kulóskap (Klósábe) is a god-man of truly Indian type who undoubtedly represents the principle of good, and particularly good nature, as opposed to his twin brother Malsum the Wolf, who may be called the Ahimán of the Wabanaki, although this is almost too dignified a term.'

He remarks further (p. 34):

'The tendency of Kulóskap, in spite of his name, was essentially benevolent. Oddly enough, Kulóskap means "the liar," from a stem *kásk*, "lie" + *ap*, "a man, person, one who stands." . . . This appellation, uncomplimentary as it sounds to our ears, was not really meant in this sense by the Indians. Kulóskap is called "the deceiver" not because he deceives or injures man, but because he is clever enough to lead his enemies astray, the highest possible virtue to the early American mind.'

This explanation is much the same as one put forward by Brinton; but, even if it did explain (it hardly does so satisfactorily) the name of the culture-hero, in his capacity of 'deceiver,' it fails to account for the clownish actions, ridiculous escapades, and mean and despicable things attributed to him. Nor does it take fully into account the rather numerous occasions on which he is completely outwitted, c.g., in the contest with the baby, with certain animals, and even with trees.

Clark Wissler, in his 'Mythol. of the Blackfoot Indians' (pp. 6-12), discusses the character of the culture-hero of these Indians and his relations to the other figures of their mythology. Of Old Man, or Napiw^a (the Napi of various other writers), we are informed (p. 9):

'That the Blackfoot formerly had a well-defined creation-myth, in which the old Man took the initiative in producing and transforming the world, is indicated by several writers. Those noted above give more or less in detail a running account of the peopling of the earth and the instruction of mankind in the art of living. While these incidents do not occur in detail

in the Old Man myths recorded in this paper, they are occasionally implied. Such origins are at present often assigned to the Old Man without the formality of a myth.

It will be noted that the greater part of the tales collected by us recite the absurd, humorous, obscene, and brutal incidents in the Old Man's career. No ritualistic or ceremonial practices appear to be based upon any of these narratives, though it may have been otherwise in the past. On the other hand, connected with them are the suggestions of origins for many aspects of material culture, such as the buffalo-drive, the making of weapons, methods of dressing skins, etc. A considerable number of places and topographical features were associated with his adventures; as Old Man's River, Tongue Flag River, Old Man's Gambling-Place, Old Man's Sliding-Place, Rolling-Stone Creek, etc. In fact there seems a tendency to give all of his adventures a definite location in Alberta.

Wissler says further (p. 9):

'For several decades at least, the Blackfoot have considered the Old Man as an evil character, in most respects trivial, who long ago passed on to other countries. Whenever the writer asked if the Old Man was ever prayed to, the absurdity of the question provoked merriment. The usual reply was, that no one had enough confidence in him to make such an appeal. In daily conversation his name is often used as a synonym for immorality. However, it must not be implied that he is regarded as an evil spirit. His name is especially associated with things obscene, and pertaining to sexual immorality. I have heard the Piegan say that So-and-so "must be trying to be like the Old Man; he cannot be trusted with women."

It is quite probable that here, as with other Indian tribes, the culture-hero has suffered from the same disposition seen among civilized peoples of the present day to attribute actions of a certain character to their heroes and great historical figures. Wissler, therefore, seems quite justified in his statement (p. 10):

'We have occasionally noted a tendency to assign modern obscene anecdotes to this character, and it may well be that many of the tales long attributed to him have been accumulated by the laws of association. The unfortunate human tendency to appreciate keenly the humour in such anecdotes seems sufficient to account for their survival and accumulation long after belief in and respect for the Old Man as a creator, teacher, and transformer has passed the verge of extinction.'

Taking everything into consideration, Wissler inclines to the opinion that certain Old Man myths 'are survivals from a much larger group constituting the ancient basic beliefs of the Blackfoot,' and that 'there has been a disintegration of the creative and cultural origin myths concerning Old Man.' To-day the Blackfoot make Napiw^a (the Old Man) and Natos (the Sun) different characters, the former secondary. According to Wissler, the Blackfoot and the Crow 'culture-heroes' are closer together than the Blackfoot and those of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Those of the Blackfoot, Crow, and Arapaho seem all, however, to be 'entirely human,' with no traces of any animal qualities. W. McClintock, in his *The Old North Trail*, gives much space to Old Man and the myths about him (pp. 337-348). He says concerning his character (p. 337 f.):

'The character of Old Man, as revealed, even in the more serious of these myths, is a strange composite of opposing attributes, of power and weakness, of wisdom and passion, of benevolence and malevolence. He associated intimately with the birds and animals. He conversed with them and understood their thoughts and language, and they understood him. Although believed to be the creator of all things, and as having omnipotent power, he was often helpless and in trouble and compelled to seek the aid of his animal friends. He was, in fact, like an animal in his instincts and desires, which, strange to say, were exercised in conjunction with his supernatural power.'

The power of Old Man was 'uncontrolled by reason, and wanton in its exercise,' and 'he was a deceiver and a trickster and his name was a synonym among the Blackfeet, at least in later years, for mischievous and immoral adventure' (p. 338). Of some of the Old Man myths, McClintock remarks (p. 337) that they 'are samples of Indian humour, told as we tell fairy tales and using Old Man for their central figure.'

Many of the myths relating to Old Man among the southern Piegans of Montana have been published by C. C. Uhlenbeck in his *Original Blackfoot Texts* (1911) and *A New Series of Blackfoot Texts* (1912). Uhlenbeck styles Napiw^a (or Napi) 'a trickster-hero.'

Robert H. Lowie, who was among the Chipewyan Indians (of Athapaskan stock) about Lake Atha-

basca in 1908, reports ('Chipewyan Tales,' 1912, p. 173) that 'the Wisaketcak myths were becoming part and parcel of Chipewyan folk-lore.' He remarks further:

'While the Cree name of the hero was the only one used by my informants [Chipewyan Indians, or Indians of partly Chipewyan and partly Cree extraction] and was said to have no Chipewyan equivalent, there were indications that Wisaketcak was being brought into close relation with other Chipewyan characters of older standing. Thus, Francis Fortin regarded Wisaketcak as one of three brothers, the others being Crow-Head and Spread-Wings. While the other two always remained with the Chipewyan, Wisaketcak lived alternately among the Cree and the Chipewyan. However this may be, the Wisaketcak cycle of the Cree was certainly very well known among the Chipewyan and part Chipewyan at the time of my visit.'

The Wisaketcak myths obtained from the Chipewyan Indians are given on pp. 195-200, and are of the 'Wisaketcak was travelling' type. This passing over of an Algonkian cycle of myths into the mythological *fond* of the Athapaskan Chipewyan is a most important fact in comparative folklore; it suggests the possibility of similar occurrences elsewhere in primitive America.

The correspondents of the Algonkian Nanabozho and similar characters in the mythology of the Siouan stock have been discussed by J. O. Dorsey (*JALF* v. [1892] 293-304). These are Macteiige (the Rabbit), Ictinike, his great enemy, and Haxige (nearer to Ictinike than to the Rabbit). Other minor figures of like import are 'The Orphan,' 'Wears-a-plume-in-his-hair,' and 'Badger's Son.' In character and in exploits Ictinike and Haxige both resemble Nanabozho very much, many of the incidents in the legends about them being identical.

Of the Iroquoian Tawiskaron, J. N. B. Hewitt (*HAI* ii. [1910] 709) says:

'In concept Tawiskaron is so closely identical with the mythic personage called Chakekenapok in Algonkian mythology, a younger brother of Nanabozho, that they may be treated together.'

And of Ioskeha, or Teharonhiawagon, the brother of Tawiskaron, and the great Iroquoian culture-hero, corresponding to the Algonkian Nanabozho or Nanabozho, he says (*op. cit.* p. 719) that, in everything but minor details, he is identical with the conception of Nanabozho. According to Hewitt (*op. cit.* p. 19),

'Nanabozho is apparently the impersonation of life, the active quickening power of life—of life manifested and embodied in the myriad forms of sentient and physical nature. He is therefore reputed to possess not only the power to live, but also the correlative power of renewing his own life and of quickening and therefore of creating life in others. He impersonates life in an unlimited series of diverse personalities which represent various phases and conditions of life, and the histories of the life and acts of these separate individualities form an entire cycle of traditions and myths which, when compared one with another, are sometimes apparently contradictory and incongruous, relating, as these stories do, to the unrelated objects and subjects in nature. The conception named Nanabozho exercises the diverse functions of many persons, and he likewise suffers their pains and needs. He is this life struggling with the many forms of want, misfortune, and death that come to the bodies and beings of nature.'

Teharonhiawagon has by some been erroneously identified with Hiawatha, who seems to have been a real human being, a famous Iroquois lawgiver of the 16th cent. (see *HAI* i. [1907] 546); and Longfellow's so-called 'American epic,' which bears the title *Hiawatha*, is really concerned with the story of the Ojibwa hero-god Manabozho, whom the poet confused with the Iroquoian Hiawatha, believing both to be the same mythical being, following in this the mistaken ideas of Schoolcraft and others of his informants.

5. Twin-heroes and culture-heroes.—The appearance of heroes and hero-gods as twins, older and younger brothers, or a group of brothers (varying from three to seven) is common in primitive America—and the twins are often said to be born of a virgin-mother. Some of the most important culture-heroes appear at first as one of twins, etc., but soon the minor brother or brothers vanish from the story, lose their lives, or in some way become

of little or no account henceforth. Sometimes the twins or two brothers represent a conflict, one standing for good, peace, and the like, the other for evil, war, etc.; sometimes also this fraternal strife begins in the womb of the mother before birth (as with the Iroquoian Good Mind and Bad Mind), and the eagerness of the stronger and more impetuous to be born kills her. A characteristic Algonkian culture-hero, Wisa'kã, of the Sacs and Foxes, is represented to have been the eldest son of Gishã Mun'etõa, the greatest of all manitous, who lived in the days when the earth was peopled with manitous. Jones (*JAF* xiv. [1901] 225) says:

'Now the elder of the two sons [the great manitou had four] was Wisa'kã, and the younger Kujã'pãtaha. They were different from all children before them, for even when very young and small, they were mightier manitous than those who were older than they. And, the older they grew, the stronger they walked in their might as manitous. The manitous beheld the growing might of the two boys, and became jealous.'

But it is the elder brother who becomes the culture-hero and friend of mankind. The predominance of the elder brother characterizes many other Indian myths.

The twin hero-gods of the Zuñi are Ahaiyuta and Mätsailëma, spoken of as older and younger brothers, and 'accounted immortal twin youths of small size.' Their deeds are detailed by Cushing in his 'Zuñi Creation Myths' (*13 RBEW*, 1896) and *Zuñi Folk-Tales* (1901). They are also styled 'the twin gods of war,' and are looked upon as the 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' beings of the sun. A. L. Kroeber found 'the myth of the miraculous twins and war leaders' among the Uinta Utes of the Shoshonean stock in north-eastern Utah (*JAF* xiv. [1901] 252). A characteristic South American twin myth is the Bakairi story of Keri and Kaue; the former, wiser and more powerful than the latter, is, according to K. von den Steinen (*Die Bakairi-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892), the chief hero in the legends of the Indians. The names now borne by these heroes are those of the sun and moon, and, curiously enough, it is the weaker, and not the stronger one, who has the name of the sun.

Among North American twins, brother-pairs, etc., may be mentioned the following:

Noakana and Masmasianiq among the Wikeno of British Columbia; the Two Brothers of the Déné (Athapascan); the Thunder Twins of the Californian Tachi Yokuts, and Miwok (much elaborated by the Yuki); the Klamath or Lutuamian Marten and Weasel; the Pensanto and Onkoito of the Californian Maidu; the Algonkian Manabozho and Chokanipok (also Micmac Glooscap and Malsum); the Iroquoian Ioskeha and Tawiskaron; the Navaho Tobadizini and Nayeueczgani; the Zuñi Ahaiyuta and Mätsailëma.

From Mexico and Central America may be cited:

Quetzalcoatl and his three brothers, among the Aztecs; the Hun-Hun-Ahpu and Vukub Hun-Ahpu and Hun-Ahpu and Xhalanque of the Mayas; the Two Brothers (Twins) of the Guaymí of Costa Rica.

From South America the following:

Amalivaca and Vochi among the Tamanacos of Venezuela; Tamendonare and Arikute among the Brazilian Tupis; Karu and Rairu among the Mundurucú; Tiri and Karu among the Yuracaré; the two sons of Ahuanguí among the Guayanos; Pachacamac and Vichama among the Yunkas; Apocatequil and Piguerao among the Guanamucos; Keri and Kaue among the Cariban Bakairi.

The legends concerning these heroes embody a great variety of incidents—co-operation, opposition, adventure, strife.

6. Re-incarnations of the hero-gods.—In the literature relating to the conflict of the Indian peoples of America with the white man, the 'Messiah movements,' the 'Ghost-Dance religion,' etc., we meet with references to beliefs in the return of the ancient divinities and culture-heroes, for the purpose of driving out the white intruders and restoring the land to the red man, in all its pristine beauty and fertility. This is sometimes a feature of the 'new religions' of the American Indians, recently discussed by Chamberlain (*Journ. Relig. Psychol.* vi. [1913] 1-49). Among the Ojibwa,

e.g., the 'prophet' Tenskwatawa (a Shawnee settler-forth of a 'new religion,' in 1805-1812) came to be looked upon as an incarnation of Manabozho. The revolt of the Mexican Zapotecs in 1550 was led by an Indian priest, who declared himself to be an incarnation of Quetzalcoatl.

After the departure of the culture-hero, some Indians, according to the legends of not a few tribes, succeeded in making their way to his far-off abode. Leland (*Algong. Leg.*, 1885) records (pp. 94-103) two Micmac tales of the men who went to Glooscap for gifts, and Jones (*Fox Texts*, pp. 332-337) gives the Fox Tale of how 'The Red-Earths went to where Wisa'kã was.' Upon this story he remarks (p. 332):

'This narrative is but another version of a familiar story known to other Algonkin tribes. It is the account of the visit of four men to the culture-hero at his distant home, and of how each obtained what he asked for. The visit is supposed to have taken place long after the culture-hero had departed from this world. It is not stated in the text, but the place of the home is at the frozen north.'

In the Micmac story the departed Glooscap is represented as dwelling in a land of magic and of beauty.

7. Interpretation of heroes and hero-gods.—Both in his *The Myths of the New World* and his *Essays of an Americanist*, and in other writings as well, Brinton sought to interpret the culture-heroes of the American aborigines as personifications of light, dawn, etc., calling to his aid, not infrequently, Max Müller's 'disease of language' theory. The Algonkian *Michabo*, the 'Great Rabbit,' was a light-god, because of the relationship of *wabos* (i.e. 'white one'), the term for 'rabbit,' and *waban* (also from the root *wab*, 'white'), the word for 'dawn'; and *Manabozho* was disposed of in a similar manner. The Iroquoian *Ioskeha*, Aztec *Quetzalcoatl*, Mayan *Itzamna*, Chibchan *Bochica*, Peruvian *Viracocha*, and many other figures, he made out to be essentially the same. The often-occurring contest of two brothers or of the twins, as, e.g., the Iroquoian *Ioskeha* and *Tawiskara*, the Algonkian *Manabozho* and *Chokanipok*, he explained as the contest of light and darkness. The culture-hero is, as was sung of Itzamna, 'son of the mother of the morning,' or 'born in the east.' To cite Brinton's own words (*Amer. Hero-Myths*, p. 29):

'The most important of all things to life is Light. This the primitive savage felt, and, personifying it, he made Light his chief god. The beginning of the day served, by analogy, for the beginning of the world. Light comes before the sun, brings it forth, creates it, as it were. Here, the Light-God is not the Sun-God, but his Antecedent and Creator.'

This is somewhat different from the solar and lunar theories of hero-myths revived in recent years, in particular by Frobenius and others, and shared also by Ehrenreich, in his monograph on general mythology (p. 233), where he identifies 'culture-heroes' with the sun, the moon, and Venus; in his special treatment of South American myths (*Myth. und Leg. der südamer. Vrvölk.*, p. 24), he says of 'the so-called culture-heroes' that 'they all bear more or less the character of sun or moon beings.'

As noted above, the unsatisfactory character of the naturalistic theory for the explanation of American hero-tales and hero-myths has been pointed out by Lowie, who emphasizes their interpretation on grounds of human experience. Not more successful than the solarists and the lunarists are the Freudian school of psycho-analysts, with their *outré* dependence upon sex and sex *motifs*. One outgrowth of Freudianism in this field is Otto Rank's *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden* (Leipzig, 1909). Wundt's conception of the hero as 'a projection of human wishes and hopes' may perhaps hold without either the solar-lunar basis of Frobenius-Ehrenreich or the more pathological substrata of the Freudian school. Here, as else-

where, the explanation from normal humanity is always the best.

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HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Babylonian).

—The amount of material furnished by the native inscriptions, Berossus, and the Greek writers who deal with Bab. mythology indicates that the literature treating of this subject was exceedingly extensive. Moreover, not only are the narratives which have been handed down attractive and entertaining; they also reveal to us the opinions of the more cultured Babylonians concerning the origin of created things, the relationship of the gods to men, and the limit of the power of both, to say nothing of the fancies and the inventive power of their minds; and the stories of their hero-kings are probably, in certain cases, not without a historical value.

I. BABYLONIAN HEROES MENTIONED BY BEROSUS.—I. Alorus and five of his successors.—After Oannes came forth from the sea (the Persian Gulf) to teach the people, there ruled Alorus, 'the shepherd of the people,' for 10 *sari* (36,000 years). Afterwards came Alaparus (see below, III. 1, 'Adapa') for 3 *sari* (10,800 years). He seems to have been regarded, like the next, Amelon or Amillarus, who reigned for 13 *sari* (46,800 years), as a native of Pantibibla, probably Sippar, in the province of Agadé. The fourth mythical king was Ammenon (in Sumerian probably *En-men-nunna*; see below, III. 3), who reigned for 12 *sari* (43,200 years). In his time came the Musarus Oannes (? *U-anna*, 'lummy of heaven,' possibly the sun), or Annedotus, half man and half fish, from the Persian Gulf. The fifth ruler was Megalarus (Metalarus), also of Pantibibla, who reigned for 18 *sari* (64,800 years). The sixth reign was that of Daos or Daonos, the shepherd of Pantibibla, who ruled 10 *sari* (36,000 years; see below, IV. 3, 'Tammuz'). In his time four composite beings, Evedocus (Sumerian *En-we-dugga*), Enugamos

(? Sumer. *En-we-gan*), Enubulus, and Anementus, arose from the Persian Gulf.

2. Euedoreschus.—With the seventh name we have a clearer historical personage, Euedoreschus (*En-we-dur-an-ki*, possibly 'the lord of the word binding heaven and earth'), also of Pantibibla. Berossus relates that in his time another Annedotus, called Odakon (cf. Sumer. *Utuki*, a name of the sun-god), or Apodaphos, arose from the sea. The British Museum tablet K. 2486 calls En-we-dur-an-ki 'king of Sippar, . . . beloved of Anu, Bel, and Ea, . . . whom Samaš and Addu (Hadad) had placed on a golden throne.' He was a diviner, versed in all sacred things, and the perfection of his person served as a model for all who aspired to the priesthood after him.

3. Amempsinus, Opartes, and Xisuthrus.—The eighth ruler was Amempsinus of Larancha, who ruled for 10 *sari* (36,000 years), but of this personage nothing more is known. The ninth, however, was of much greater note, being none other than Otiartes (a scribe's error for *Opartes*, the *U(m)bara-Tutu* of the Flood-legend). The Gr. text describes him as being of Larancha, but the Flood-story in the Legend of Gilgames seems to make him a native of Surippak, now Fara, on the Euphrates. He ruled for 8 *sari* (28,800 years), and was succeeded by his son, Sisithrus or Xisuthrus (*Hasis-athra*, Bab. *Atra-hasis* transposed), 'the exceedingly wise.' This is simply a title which was given to Bab. heroes, and the patriarch's name seems to have been *Ūt-napištim* (*Ūta-naštim* in the Gilgames-legend discovered by Meissner). Xisuthrus ruled 18 *sari* (64,800 years). He probably passed for the greatest of all the mythical kings of Babylonia.

The most complete account of the Flood and the end of the great Bab. hero who figured in it is probably that given by Berossus, as quoted by Alex. Polyhistor (see *ERE* iv. 553a). The fullest account of his life, however, was probably that known as the legend of 'Ea and Atar-hasis' (a variant form of *Atra-hasis*). Unfortunately the mutilation of the text renders the sequence and bearing of the events which it records exceedingly doubtful. A series of years up to 7 are mentioned in which distressing things occurred among the people (cf. Gn 6⁵⁻¹¹⁻¹³), parents and offspring being unnatural towards and suspicious of each other. There was scarcity of water and corn, and children were not brought forth. Owing to this, Atar-hasis appealed to the god Ea, on the second occasion setting up his abode at his door. Ea, however, took no notice, and the cries of the tormented people rose on high, troubling the god Enlil; so various sicknesses were sent among them, silencing their complaints. This apparently gave Atar-hasis opportunity for a fresh appeal, and the god this time answered, but the text is too mutilated for the sense to be gathered.

In the considerable gap which occurs at this point, it is not improbable that the intention of the gods to send a flood upon the earth is announced. If so, the Pierpont Morgan fragment (Scheil, *RT* xx. [1897]) probably gives the text. Though exceedingly mutilated, there appears to be a conversation between Ea and the patriarch, whom the former seems to advise to ask (the other deities), 'Why wilt thou kill the people?' Whether the Hilprecht fragment (see *ExpT* xxi. [1909-10] 364 ff.) belongs to this legend or not is doubtful, but seems not improbable. The announcement of the intention of the deity to bring a flood is given in detail, with directions as to the construction of the ark. Another doubtful fragment—that found by G. Smith and known as *D(aily) T(elegraph)* 42 (T. G. Pinches, *OT in the Light* 2, London, 1903, p. 117)—also covers this section of the story, and contains part of *Atra-hasis'* reply concerning the building of the ship.

From this point onwards the text is wanting until the last column of the large British Museum tablet (K. 3399+3934), which refers to 14 pieces of clay, out of which seven beautiful males and females were created by the goddess of generation, Mami (*bēlit ilī*, 'the lady of the gods,' also called Aruru, the creatress). These lumps of clay would correspond with the stones which the hero of the Flood and his wife threw behind them in the legend of Deucalion's flood (*ERE* iv. 554). Concerning the death of Atra-hasis nothing is known.

Such were the hero-kings of Babylonia until after the great Deluge; and, notwithstanding the fact that the Babylonians believed in their historicity, there is no doubt that they are wholly mythical—though historical personages of later date may have been transferred into that remote past which the Babylonians pictured to themselves so clearly. It is doubtful whether the first kings after the Flood can be looked upon as more historical, but it is to be noted that the successor of Xisuthrus or Atra-hasis—Evekhous, Evekhoos, Euxexius, or Eutykhios, who reigned for 4 *neri* (2400 years)—is identified by Syncellus with Nembrod (Nimrod), and the latter, if really Merodach (IV. 2, below), was the first great Bab. hero-god, the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel, etc. (Gn 10⁹). He is said to have been succeeded by his son Khomasbelus, who reigned 4 *neri* and 6 *sossi* (2700 years).

II. THE BABYLONIAN HERO-KINGS MENTIONED IN THE NATIVE INSCRIPTIONS.—1. Gilgameš.—Gilgameš was, in all probability, the first important hero after Merodach, and may be the Khomasbelus who succeeded Merodach. The full form of his name seems to have been Gibilgameš, and his capital was Erech (*Uruk supuri*, 'Erech of the enclosures'). The legend concerning him covered 12 tablets, and was, therefore, of considerable length. Unfortunately, there are many lacunæ. Gilgameš is described as having been 'two-thirds god and one-third man'; and, as no being seems to have existed with whom he could associate on equal terms, Aruru (see *ERE* ii. 643^b, v. 723^a), who had created him, formed a man in his likeness—the sage Enki-du (Ea-bani), who dwelt in the wilds among the beasts of the earth. Enticed to Erech, Rêmut-Bêlti, the mother of Gilgameš, tells her son that Enki-du is to be his companion, and he accepts him at once.

Gilgameš and Enki-du go together on an expedition against Humbaba, the Elamite, whose head they cut off. Later, the renown which Gilgameš had acquired attracted the attention of Ištar, the goddess of Erech, who wished to espouse him. Notwithstanding her divinity, he had a very low opinion of her morality, and rejected her advances with reproaches. Angered, Ištar complained to her parents Anu and Anatu, and a divine bull was sent down to overawe the hero and avenge the goddess. Undismayed, Gilgameš and Enki-du killed the animal, over whose remains Ištar and her maidens lamented. Probably owing to Ištar's hostility, Gilgameš was smitten with an incurable malady, and he also had the misfortune to lose his friend Enki-du. In despair, Gilgameš roamed about the world seeking to have his friend restored to him, and to find relief for himself. Many were the people whom he met, and the wonders which he saw, and he arrived at last, accompanied by Sur-Šanabi the boatman, at the place to which Ut-napištim (Xisuthrus or Atra-hasis [see above]), the Bab. Noah, had been translated, there to dwell for ever after the Flood.

After an account of the calamity (*ERE* iv. 550^b, 551^a) and Ut-napištim's explanation that he had attained immortality as a reward for his faithfulness, certain ceremonies are performed which

restore the hero to health. Later, when on his way back, he finds and loses a plant which would have given him the life and youth which he sought. Bemoaning his loss, he reaches Erech, and takes measures for the restoration of its walls. The exceedingly imperfect 12th tablet details the raising of his old companion, Enki-du, who describes to him the state of the good and the wicked after death. The last days and death of Gilgameš are not referred to. (For other details, see *ERE* ii. 315 f.)

As handed down, the legend of Gilgameš appears as the life-history of a great and energetic ruler. H. C. Rawlinson, however, thought that the 11th tablet of the series, with the story of the Flood, corresponded with the 11th zodiacal sign, Aquarius; and the creation of Enki-du in the likeness of the hero might be held emblematic of the constellation of the Twins. In its present condition, however, the story does not lend itself to satisfactory analysis, at least from the astral point of view.

Whether the infant Gilgameš, son of Sevekhoroš, thrown from a tower, and caught by an eagle (*Ælian, de Nat. Animal.* xii. 21), refers to Gilgameš or Gibilgameš is at present uncertain.

2. Azag-Bau.—Though a woman, this ruler seems to have been looked upon as worthy of hero-fame. According to the chronological list published by Scheil (*CAIRL*, Oct. 1911; *ExpT* xxiii. [1911-12] 306, 308), she had been a wine-seller, and is said to have founded the city of Kiš, of which she became queen, perhaps on account of her vineyards and presses being there. The length of her reign is given as 100 years. As in the case of Sargon of Agadé afterwards, events of her reign are quoted in the omen-tablets.

3. Sargon of Agadé.—This ruler, whose name in Bab. is Sarru-kin, was the great royal hero after Gilgameš. His autobiographical legend states that his mother was a priestess or devotee (of some deity), and that he knew not his father (who had possibly visited his mother without making himself known to her). After the child had been brought forth in a secret place at Azupirānu on the Euphrates, his mother placed him in a little basket-ark made water-tight with bitumen, and set him afloat on the river. Carried by the stream to Akki the libation-priest, he became his adopted son. How he attained royal rank is not known, but he had a long and renowned reign. The omens from his reign state that he crossed the Eastern sea, and conquered all the lands of the West. Besieged, during a revolt, in his capital Agadé, notwithstanding his advancing years he made a sortie, and defeated his foes. After this he subjugated Subartu, and made the boundaries of Agadé equal with those of Babylonia. He probably died in consequence of the anxieties due to a famine.

4. Narām-Sin.—This was a ruler hardly less renowned than his father, Sargon. He conquered all the regions around the State of Agadé—Apirak, Subartu, Media, Elam, Tilmun (Bahrein and the W. coast of the Persian Gulf), Magan, and Meluhha, capturing, in all, 17 kings, with 90,000 troops. Unfortunately, less than a sixth of the inscription dealing with his reign is preserved.

5. The historical and deified hero-kings.—Though the exploits of Azag-Bau, Sarru-kin, and Narām-Sin may be largely legendary, those of the deified kings Dungi, Būr-Sin, Gīmīl-Sin, Libit-Ištar, Eri-Aku (or Arad-Sin), Rīm-Sin, Išmê-Dagan of Isin, and the apparently non-deified Nebuchadrezzar I. are well within the range of history. Colophon-dates and contemporary inscriptions show that they carried on campaigns, performed ceremonies, and worked for the welfare of their people by digging irrigation-channels,

administering justice, and building temples. The records of heroic deeds on their part are, it is true, wanting, but a fragment, whose colophon contains the name of Dungi, gives an account of his pious works, implying that such were preferable to deeds of prowess on the battle-field. Libit-Ištar, too, although 'his weapon prevailed greatly,' enjoyed as much renown because he set up some monument 'for the admiration of multitudes of people,' and his sacrifices and prayers seem to have been acceptable to Enlil, the old patrou-deity of Nippur.

In the case of Nebuchadnezzar I. (c. 1120 B.C.), the historian compares him with a lion and with the god Hadad, and his great men with lions' cubs. Finding his country wanting in prosperity, he prayed to Merodach for Babylon and his temple E-sagila; and success against Palestine (Amurru) and Elam was promised him—success which, as we know from the historical inscriptions, was realized. The glory of his namesake of later date, surnamed the Great, is known to all. Had the Bab. nation continued its career as an independent State, there is little doubt that the two Nebuchadnezzars would have figured with equal renown among its great and royal heroes.

III. OTHER LEGENDS OF HEROES FROM THE NATIVE RECORDS.—1. Adapa.—This hero is described as having possessed all the wisdom of Anu, the god of the heavens, as well as that of Ea, in whose city, Eridu, he dwelt. He bore the title of *nuhatimmu*, which seems to indicate one who had the preparation and distribution of sacred food. He was also a fisherman of that city, which in his time lay on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

While he was sailing out one day, the south wind came and sank his vessel, and Adapa found himself in 'the house(s) of the fish.' He threatened to break the wings of the wind, and this was forthwith accomplished. For a week the south wind did not blow, to the annoyance of the god Anu, who summoned the wind and Adapa before him. Ascending to the heaven of Anu, Adapa saw there at the god's door Tammuz and Giš-zida, two deities who had disappeared from the earth. Adapa explained to Anu why he had broken the south wind's wings, and these two deities, speaking for him, appeased the wrath of Anu, who, however, was displeased with Ea for having thus caused to be revealed 'the heart of heaven and earth' to a man. The food of life was now offered to Adapa, but he refused to eat of it, explaining that he was acting in accordance with the instructions of Ea. He had apparently declined to eat it, however, under the impression that it was the food of death. Seemingly as a compensation for the loss, rule over the people of the earth was conferred upon him; and it may be supposed that, like Atrahasis, he attained immortality in the end at the hands of his own god, Ea. It has been suggested that Adapa is the *Ataparos* of Berossus, written for *Adaparos*; but the *r* would, in that case, seem to be intrusive.

2. Etana and the Eagle.—This legend is also exceedingly imperfect. At a time when there was no king upon the earth, and apparently not even the insignia of royalty, Ištar, seeking a ruler, had come upon Etana, whose wife expected a child, destined by the gods to govern the earth. The birth, however, was retarded, and Etana sought a remedy for this delay—the divine 'herb of bearing,' which it was thought that the eagle would be of use in obtaining. This bird, unfortunately, conceived a desire to eat the young of the black serpent, and, having descended to carry out this intention, had his wings broken by the enraged reptile. The eagle having been in the end healed, Etana, clinging to its body, attempted to

reach the throne of Ištar, who is elsewhere called 'the mother of those who bring forth.' That giddy height, however, they seem not to have attained, as Etana refused to be carried so far, and they descended to earth again. How the legend ends is uncertain, but the attempt may have been successfully repeated, or the coveted herb may have been acquired in another way.

3. Other legends.—Numerous other legends existed, but in many cases the titles (first lines) are all that remain. Among these are '[The legend of En-men ?]-nunna' (probably Ammenon [see above, I. 1], the fourth pre-historic hero-king), by Enlil-ban-kudurri son of Hu-meme; and 'the legend of Si-du,' by Si-du the ancient (apparently an autobiography). 'The legend of Lidlul, the sage,' of which fragments are extant, is rather a philosophical work, treating of the miseries and the disappointments of life, than the story of a hero.

IV. BABYLONIAN HERO-GODS.—1. Enlil and Ninlil.—The story of these deities is contained in a bilingual composition of unusual beauty. Enlil and Ninlil are described as the youthful hero and handmaid of Dur-an and Nippur (identified with the Calneh of Gn 10¹⁰), and dwelt there, as well as in Dur-gišimmar, 'the date-palm fortress,' with its holy river, its food-store, well of sweet water, and holy brook. Therein Ninlil had the comfort of her mother Kiel-azaga, and the protecting goddesses of the holy streams made the water flow. After a gap, the text seems to speak of the ceremonial entrance of Enlil and Ninlil into Nippur, when unclean or undesirable things were to be sent forth therefrom. On their approach, Enlil calls to the gate-keeper announcing the lady Ninlil's coming, and admonishing him not to reveal her (Ninlil's) abode. Repeating his call, Enlil says:

'Man of the great gate, man of the lock—
Man of the bolt, man of the holy lock—
Thy lady Ninlil cometh,
The handmaid so bright, so shining.
Let none woo her, let none kiss her—
Ninlil so bright, so shining.'¹

From a kind of catch-line, it would seem that Enlil entered the city to pronounce certain decisions, but the second tablet, which would give the sequel, is wanting. For details of this deity, see *ERE* ii. 310^b; also 6 and 7 below.

2. Merodach.—Though not the oldest of the deities of the Bab. pantheon, Merodach is the most important from the present standpoint, on account of his probable human origin. The full form of his name was *Amaruduk*, 'the steer of day,' i.e. the sun in his growing strength. It is noteworthy that one of his Semitic names is *Nūr-ili*, 'light of the god (? of day),' and the character by which this is represented was read as *Asari*, compared with the Egyptian Osiris. (In cuneiform, as in Egyptian, it is composed of the signs for 'city' and for 'eye.') He was also one of the gods designated by the character for 'king,' in Sumer, probably *Lugal*, and in Sem. Bab. *Sarru* and the above-named *Nūr-ili*.

Concerning Merodach's earthly kingship we know nothing, but the royal title may refer either to that or to his heavenly authority. In consequence of the hostility of Tiamat (cf. *ERE* iv. 129), the gods decided to destroy her and her brood, but none of them had the courage to attack so terrible an adversary. Merodach, therefore, offered himself; and, aided by the powers which the gods bestowed upon him, he succeeded in overthrowing her, imprisoning her followers, and dividing her body (*ib.* 129^b). Installed as king of the gods in consequence of this great service, Merodach reconstructed the universe, and created mankind and all living things (see also *ERE* ii. 314^a, iv. 232).

¹ Cf. HYMNS (Babylonian).

Other legends concerning Merodach are lost, but one of them, beginning, 'When Merodach was in Sumer and Akkad,' may have referred to his earthly existence. Another was 'The record of Merodach, the glorious lord, who was placed over the heavens,' by Gimil-Gula. For Merodach in his divine character, see *ERE* ii. 311 f.

3. The legend of Tammuz.—The descent of Ištar into Hades, to bring back *Dumu-zi-da* or Tammuz, the 'husband of her youth,' proves that the Babylonians had the legend in a similar form to that in which it was known in Syria. There is no inscription, however, dealing with the cause of his premature death, so that we are in doubt whether it was regarded by the Babylonians as having been due to 'the boar's tusk of winter' or to some other cause. His release by Ištar from the domain of Ereš-ki-gal, or Ereš-ē-gal, is one of the most noted productions of Bab. literature (see *ERE* ii. 313, 315^b).

4. The myth of Ura.—In this we have the legend of a seemingly purely divine hero, without any suspicion of human origin such as attached to Merodach and Tammuz. Ura (or Ira) seems to have been so called as 'the perfect one' (*[gitma]ku* [*Cuneif. Texts*, xii. 13, 44b]); but, as the ideograph with which the name is written is that for 'servant,' perfection of service (to the gods, or to the universe) may be intended. In the inscriptions, Ura appears as one of the forms of Nergal, the god of war, famine, plague, and destructive things in general.

In the legend, Anu, the god of heaven, gives Ura seven evil spirits to support him when prompted to 'kill the dark-heads' (mankind), and smite down the beast of the field. In a dialogue between Ura and I-šum (a destroyer like himself), the destruction wrought in Bab. cities is referred to—that at Babylon, which caused Merodach to utter 'an unloosable curse'; and at Erech, whose goddess, Ištar, was moved to wrath. Ura justifies himself, and shows his impartiality by stating that he has not spared Dêr, his own city. Secure in his own justice, Ura speaks of further punishments which he intends to inflict, and I-šum promises to follow in his footsteps, whereat Ura is pleased, and finds his words 'as finest oil.' It is thought that they were not going to spare even the king of the gods, Merodach, himself. In any case, civil war was to ravage the seacoast, Mesopotamia, Elam, the Kassites, the Sutties, the Qutites, and the Lulubites; land would not spare land, or house house, or brother brother, but they would kill each other, until the Akkadian came and overthrew them all. I-šum turned, however, first against Šaršar (the Amorites), destroying the mountain of the land and its vegetation. Ura was also engaged in this work; and, when he rested, all the gods bowed down to him. He then explained to them that he had destroyed mankind on account of former sin, and he seems to ask why he should make a difference between the just and the unjust more than the others. He would favour those who glorified him and sang his praises.

5. Nergal and Ereš-ki-gal.—These deities were the king and queen of the under world, the former being the hero-god Ura under his more familiar name. The legend relates that the gods made a feast; but, as Ereš-ki-gal was not allowed to ascend to them, they requested her to send a messenger to receive her portion. This she did, and all the gods except Nergal stood up when the messenger entered. This enraged Ereš-ki-gal, who sent and demanded that the deity who had thus failed in politeness should be delivered up to her. Nergal tried to escape his doom by hiding behind the other gods, but was discovered, and sent down to Hades with fourteen companions.

Leaving these last to guard the fourteen gates of Hades, he entered, seized Ereš-ki-gal, and dragged her from her throne to cut off her head. Begging for mercy, she offered to become his spouse, and was accepted. Kissing her, and wiping away her tears, Nergal granted whatever she had asked of him 'for months past.'

6. Enlil, Tišpak, and the Labbu.—Here we have a legend which seems to supply something similar to the stories of combats with dragons in the Middle Ages. The people of the land (? Babylonia) sighed and complained on account of a giant-serpent (*muš-igala*) which plagued them, and which Enlil had designed in the heavens. Its length was 60 leagues, and it had members in proportion. Who, it was asked, would kill this creature, and save and rule over the wide land? Apparently the god Tišpak (Ninip as god of lustration) volunteered, and was ordered to go. The imperfection of the record leaves us in doubt whether it was he or another deity who accomplished the dragon's overthrow; but this was done by holding up before the creature 'the seal of life,' and its blood flowed (from a wound) for 3 years, 3 months, 1 day and 10 (?) [hours?]. Hirozny regards the Labbu as typifying the mists at sea—which seems probable (cf. *ERE* ii. 315^a).

7. Zû the storm-bird, and the Tablets of Fate.—Though told at some length, this legend needs but few words. A deity seems to have sent Zû, so that he saw 'with his eyes' the Tablets of Fate, and, coveting Enlil's power, decided to take possession of them, mount his throne, and rule the *Igigi* (gods of the heavens). Taking advantage of the moment when Enlil was performing his daily ablutions preparatory to mounting his throne, Zû seized them, and flew to the security of his mountain. Enlil being thus rendered powerless, Anu, the god of the heavens, addressed himself to the gods and goddesses, asking them to get them back. All, however—Anu's son Addu (Hadad), his daughter Ištar, Bara, Ištar's child, and others—seem to make excuses, and are ordered not to go. After this Nin-igi-azaga (Ea as god of deep wisdom) speaks to Anu, and it seems possible that he volunteered, but after this the text is wanting.

The narrative is possibly continued in what seems to be another version, known as 'The outwitting of Zû.' In this (a bilingual document) Lugal-banda (? Nergal as the fighting-cock) goes forth to the distant mountain of Sabu 'to do to the bird Zû what was right.' He would allow Zû's wife and son to sit down to their meal, and, with the aid of the wise woman Siris (wine), prepare an intoxicating drink. The text here is wanting, but in all probability the ruse was successful. Who it was who rose from Zû's nest, and made an unknown place in the mountain his refuge, is uncertain.

The possible meanings of the legends.—Notwithstanding the simplicity of these legends of heroes and hero-gods, there is apparently in each of them some hidden teaching, concerning either the early kings of Babylonia, or the gods whom they worshipped, or the dealings of those gods with men—kings, heroes, or the people in general; and in some cases it is clear that attempts were made to reconcile the seeming hardships, meted out to the innocent and the guilty alike, with the existence of the beneficent deities whom the Babylonians worshipped. There seems also to have been the desire to reconcile the different beliefs which prevailed from time to time in Babylonia—the discarding of Enlil in favour of the milder rule of Ea, and that, again, for the divine direction of 'the merciful Merodach.' In these cases, the older deities (their names are practically records of the supremacy, at the time of their greatest influence, of the cities of which they were the chief patrons)

seem to have been classed, by the majority of the population, with those who, like Nergal the plague-god, or Addu (Hadad) the storm-god, brought misfortune upon men. Thus it comes that Enlil, 'lord of the air,' leads the gods who wish to destroy mankind by means of a flood, and forms the *Labbu*, or, according to Hrozný, mist-dragon. In like manner, the really malevolent deities, like Ura (Nergal), or the demon of the south wind, destroy mankind by means of the powers of Nature, and Ereš-ki-gal (Persephone) exacts the presence of Tammuz in the under world, producing winter and its sterility.

LITERATURE.—To the works mentioned under BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS (vol. ii, p. 319) may be added T. G. Pinches, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, London, 1906, and the articles 'Gilgames and the Hero of the Flood,' *PSBA*, 1903, pp. 113 ff., 195 ff., 'The Bab. Gods of War and their Legends,' *ib.* 1906, pp. 203 ff., 270 ff., 'The Legend of Merodach,' *ib.* 1908, pp. 53 ff., 77 ff., 'Istar,' *ib.* 1909, pp. 20 ff., 57 ff., 'Enlil and Ninkil,' *ib.* 1911, p. 77 ff. T. G. PINCHES.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Chinese).—

As might be expected in the case of a people with so long an existence, the Chinese nation has produced many persons who, on account of their pre-eminence in some admirable quality, may rightly be called its heroes, and whose names are preserved in its national tradition and history. Moreover, local tradition and the system of local records have preserved the fame of many others who, though not attaining to the rank of national heroes, have a restricted celebrity. As tradition and history thus supply heroes, so the religious conceptions of the Chinese easily allow their transformation into gods.

The famous names in ancient Chinese history, back to its semi-mythical period, have been revered by the whole nation under its successive dynasties, and through all its political vicissitudes. Such names are to-day still appealed to, and must be to some extent a living force both in public and in private life. To Hwang Ti, whose reign is dated 2697 B.C., is attributed much of the beginning of Chinese polity, and for this reason it was proposed to date the Republic from his era. Yao (2356 B.C.) and Shun (2255 B.C.), virtuous monarchs of antiquity, are professed by the President of the Republic as his ideals; and in the sphere of private life a popular tract exhorts one to behave as if he beheld Yao in the pottage and Shun on the wall. These examples of heroic personages are taken from the most ancient times, and the long course of Chinese history supplies the names of many others which, being sufficiently well known to be appealed to hortatively, may be called heroic. The fame of some of these has been preserved by the salt of some pithy saying, as in the case of Yang Chên (A.D. 124), famous for his integrity, who refused a secret bribe, saying, 'Heaven knows it, Earth knows it, you know it, I know it; how can you say that none will know it?' Others have a vogue in proverbial allusion, such as Chang Ch'ang (53 B.C.), who, on the eve of unmerited disgrace and dismissal, being jeered at by an enemy as 'Prefect for but five days,' summarily vindicated his rapidly expiring authority on the person of the offender, so that the jeering phrase survives as a classical allusion to unslacking fulfilment of office. Others, again, find a place in one of those numerical categories under which the Chinese are fond of grouping men and things worthy of note, e.g. 'the Three Good Men of the Yin dynasty' (1130 B.C.), or 'the Four Sages' (Shun, Yu, Chow Kung, and Confucius). In addition to those thus commemorated in national history and literature, there are the more numerous worthies peculiar to each locality.

Many of these worthies, whether of a general or of a merely local fame, remain exemplars only.

But in accordance with what is called, perhaps not quite accurately, the animistic strain in the religious conceptions of the Chinese, it may be said that they all either are or might become objects of worship, and take rank therefore as gods. Of those who have already attained divine honour, some have been raised to it by popular opinion; in the case of others, their divine rank has been conferred or recognized by Imperial decree. Thus, the reputed inventors of some of the fundamental arts of Chinese civilization—Tsang Hieh, inventor of writing, the empress Si Ling She, of silk-worm rearing, K'i, of husbandry—are deified. The being everywhere worshipped as Genius of the Soil figures in history as one of the ministers of Hwang Ti. The fourth of the ministers of the same emperor has been 'metamorphosed into one of the controlling spirits of the universe, and regarded as the god of fire' (W. F. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, no. 87). A skilled mechanic has become the god of carpenters. The case of Kuan-u well illustrates the way in which a hero becomes a god. A warrior of the era of the Three Kingdoms, famous for fidelity to his chief and for martial prowess, he was finally captured and beheaded by his enemies (A.D. 219). His name was handed down as that of a martial hero. Canonized under the Sung dynasty (12th cent. A.D.), he continued to receive additional honours, until in 1594 (Ming dynasty) he was raised to the rank of *Ti*, or god, and has ever since been worshipped as the God of War, being regarded with special favour by the late Manchu dynasty. Similarly, the Guardians of the Doors, depicted so frequently on the two-leaved doors of Chinese buildings, are historical characters of the 7th cent. A.D. They are said to have guarded the apartment of their emperor; and his commemoration of their fidelity by having their portraits painted on his doors was the first step which led to their enjoyment of divine honours. As an example of a heroine raised to divine rank, we may take Ma-tsu. A girl of Fokien, sitting with her mother spinning, went into a trance, in which she saw the boat capsize in which were her father and her two brothers. In the anguish of her affection she seized with each hand one of the drowning persons, and held up the third with her teeth. Unfortunately, her mother roused her, and she opened her mouth to reply. The facts correspond to what was done in trance: the two persons grasped by the girl's hands were saved; the third was lost, owing to the untimely opening of her mouth. Such is the story which lies at the basis of the worship of this girl as Ma-tsu, patron goddess of sailors.

In addition to those nationally, or at least very widely, recognized as divine, there are, as has been said, many others in whose case a local celebrity has culminated in a local worship. Thus, to give one example: in a village not far from Chao Chow Foo there is a temple and image in honour of a herd-boy, much sought after in times of drought, the idol being carried in procession and worshipped alike by mandarins and people. Of this herd-boy it is believed that in his lifetime he was able, by the waving of his bamboo sun-hat, to draw rain from heaven. His cult is quite local.

Regarding such hero-worship generally, it may be noted that it is somewhat capricious in the selection of its objects. If all heroes are possible objects of worship, still only some attain that dignity. None of the heroes of the Three Kingdom era enjoys such divine honours as Kuan-u. Moreover, the worship of any particular person may be early or late in its rise, and it is subject to ebb and flow in its popularity. Near Swatow there has arisen within recent years an extensive cult in honour of a monk, who, partly by supernatural means, gave to the district a much-needed bridge.

This cult, which has already somewhat declined in popularity, is recent, though the monk who is its object lived so long ago as the Sung dynasty. On the other hand, a worthy may begin to be worshipped even during his lifetime (cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, New York, 1910, p. 64). Of such worship it may be noted also that it is largely non-ethical. Its objects were distinguished, no doubt, by some excellent quality; but in being raised to divine rank they are potentialized rather than moralized, although as supernatural beings (*shên*) they may, *ex officio* as it were, be supposed to enforce the sanctions of the current ethical code. Thus the warrior Kuan-u becomes the God of War, and the rain-producing herd-boy is appealed to as Rain-producer. But in popular tracts Kuan Ti appears also, not specifically as the God of War, but as promulgating the ethical precepts inculcated in these tracts, and his power of sending weal or woe is brought forward as their sanction.

LITERATURE.—W. F. Meyers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, Shanghai and London, 1874; H. A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1898; T. Richard, *Calendar of the Gods*, Shanghai, 1906. P. J. MACLAGAN.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Egyptian).—From Herodotus ii. 50 (ἡρώων οὐδὲν ἥρωσι οὐδέν) it might be inferred that the worship of heroes was unknown among the Egyptians. Yet he tells us elsewhere that they worshipped Herakles (ii. 42) and Perseus (ii. 91)—names which, it is true, can here apply only to Khonsu and Min respectively, *i.e.* to gods in the proper sense of the term. In the Hellenistic period, however, there was in Egypt a city which was actually designated 'the City of Heroes' (Ἡρώων πόλις). The Egyptian monuments likewise show that the religion of the country had really a place for the worship of personages who, as being deified men, must be designated heroes or hero-gods. Hence, if we are not to regard Herodotus as in conflict with himself and with facts, his words as quoted above must be taken to mean only that there was among the Egyptians no such cult of heroes as corresponded exactly with that found in Greece. In point of fact, the Egyptian deities who may be styled hero-gods do not, like the Greek heroes, occupy a position intermediate between gods and men. They are not demi-gods, but have become gods in the proper sense, and, in spite of the earthly residua that still adhere to them, were worshipped along with, and in the same manner as, real gods.

Before these heroes became gods, however, they too passed through a stage of semi-divine worship, which, as in the case of the Greek heroes, was associated with their tombs, and which may have developed from the ordinary cult of the dead to something in the nature of ancestor-worship. According to Egyptian beliefs, the 'spirits' of the departed stand midway between the gods and the king and queen (Hood Papyrus, published by G. Maspero, in *Études égyptiennes*, ii., Paris, 1893). Manetho, in one particular instance where he refers to the practice of ancestor-worship, calls them *vékves* ἡμῶν (see below, I. 2). The Egyptians themselves, referring to the same practice, sometimes speak of those ancestral spirits as gods, just as they often apply the term 'god' to the semi-divine king. The line of demarcation between a real god and a deified human spirit is thus far from rigid.

As regards the heroes of the Greeks and other peoples, the question often arises whether the hero-gods worshipped by the people were originally men who had been promoted to divine honours by reason of their achievements, or were at first real deities to whom a human form and human experi-

ences came to be ascribed; or, finally, whether they are literary creations which, born of poetic fancy, found a footing in popular belief. But no such question can arise in the case of the Egyptian hero-gods, except perhaps in a single instance (II. 1 (1)). For, on the one hand, the Egyptian gods, invested with human activities and regarded as kings who ruled upon earth in the far distant past (as, *e.g.*, the sun-god Rē, *i.e.* 'sun,' the earth-god Gēb, *i.e.* 'earth,' the hawk-shaped Horus, and his adversary, the animal-shaped Seth—both originally local gods), are in other respects so lacking in human traits that their divine nature cannot be doubted for a moment. Then, on the other hand, the Egyptian deities who may be called heroes or hero-gods are without exception deified men, a number of whom lived in the full light of history, and of whose earthly existence we in some cases possess authentic indications.

It is to be noted that the deification of human beings in ancient Egypt was of two kinds, viz. (1) general deification, which all who occupied a certain position in life, or suffered a particular fate, shared in an equal degree—*de jure*, as it were, and independently of any action by their own part, much in the same way as the fallen warriors of the Teutons were all admitted to Valholl; and (2) individual deification, which was attained only by individuals of special eminence. The latter class comprises those who, as akin in character to the heroes of Greek mythology, are the genuine hero-gods, who were always treated by the Egyptians as if they had been real gods; the former is composed of the semi-divine beings from whom proceeded the hero-gods.

I. GENERAL DEIFICATION.—1. It is a well-known fact that the Egyptians, from the earliest traceable period of their history, believed their kings to be embodied forms of certain gods—in incarnations like the bull Apis, the ram of Mendes, and the other sacred animals. The reigning king was regarded as 'Horus' (the national god of Lower Egypt in pre-historic times, and, later, of the whole kingdom), or as 'Horus and Seth' (the union of the ancient national deities of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively), or, again, as 'the two mistresses, *i.e.* Eileithyia and Buto (the tutelary goddesses of the two divisions of the country in the final period of the pre-historic age). The deceased king, on the other hand, ranked as Osiris (by Heliopolitan doctrine the father of Horus), and under that conception ruled over the dead, just as, under the name of Horus, he had previously ruled, and as his son and successor now ruled, over the living. From the IVth dynasty onwards the king was accounted 'the son of the sun-god Rē,' who in the form of the previous king, his human father, was supposed to have begotten him of the queen (Maspero, 'Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Égypte,' in *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études* [Paris, 1897]). In a later age, again, each god was regarded within his own province as the king's father. Accordingly the reigning king was styled 'the good god' (*ntr-nfr*), or, at an earlier day, 'the great god' (*ntr*?); from the XIXth dynasty the latter designation was applied to the deceased king. When the king's real father was not himself a king, he was called 'the father of the god' (*ḥt-ntr*, an expression authenticated from the XIIIth dynasty), and the worship at the king's tomb—the pyramid—was, even in the Old Kingdom (first half of the 3rd millennium B.C.), performed in a 'house of a god' (*ḥt-ntr*), *i.e.* a temple specially dedicated to him, and by 'servants of a god' (*ḥm-ntr*) and 'pure ones' (*wē'eb*), *i.e.* priests, appointed for the purpose, precisely like the worship of the real gods; while the worship accorded to all other human beings, even

queens, after death was performed simply by 'servants of a genius' (*hm-k*), i.e. priests of the dead, and in 'a house of a genius' (*ht-k*), i.e. chapels of the dead.

It is nevertheless probable that the ancient kings of Egypt were not honoured with divine worship in their lifetime; at least we have no evidence of such worship. When the reigning monarch appointed one of his courtiers as a *hm-ntr*, i.e. 'servant of a god,' at his pyramid (J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906-07, i. § 307), this did not imply that the person so honoured was to act in that capacity during the king's life; on the contrary, the office, with its duties, honours, and emoluments, was conferred upon him—and probably also upon his descendants—in anticipation of the king's death, i.e. for the time when the latter should be worshipped as a departed spirit. The first of the Egyptian kings to have divine honours paid to them while still alive and in conjunction with their ancestors were the Hellenistic kings of the Ptolemaic period.

2. In Heliopolis, which in the pre-historic age was for a time the capital of the whole country, a species of ancestor-worship seems to have been accorded to the *manes* of the contemporary (pre-historic) kings. They were worshipped there as 'souls of Heliopolis.' Similarly, 'souls of Hierakonpolis' and 'souls of Buto' were worshipped in these cities, the respective capitals of the two States into which Egypt was eventually divided prior to the foundation of the historical centralized State under Menes ('the union of the two lands'). As these predecessors of Menes had, in particular, worshipped the god Horus, the latter two companies of spirits were known also as the 'servants of Horus.' Moreover, they are variously designated, according to the connexion, as 'kings,' 'spirits,' or 'gods.' In Manetho they are called *νεκρὸς αἱ ἡμιθεοί*. They are depicted as gods with a human body and an animal's head, exactly like the local fetish deities of the Egyptians; the souls of Hierakonpolis have the head of a jackal, those of Buto that of a hawk, and, accordingly, they are even spoken of as 'jackals' and 'hawks' respectively. From certain allusions in the texts it might seem as if, in earlier times (till 2000 B.C.), herds of jackals and flocks of hawks were kept in the two cities just named, and were regarded as incarnations of those royal souls.

See, further, K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumskunde*, iii. (Leipzig, 1901) 3 ff.; the same author in Borchart, *Grabdenkmal des Sahurê*, Leipzig, 1913, ii. 102 f.

The 'souls of Heliopolis,' wherever they are mentioned, seem to be treated exactly like gods, and are associated with Atum, the local deity of that city. The dynastic kings dedicate temples and other monuments to them, and speak of themselves as beloved by them. It is possible that the name Ἡρώων πόλις (Ἡρώπολις, Ἡρώ), by which the Greeks render Pithom, Παρθούμιος, i.e. 'house of Atum,' the name of the city dedicated to Atum, bears a reference to these 'souls.' In such translations we usually find that, when they do not give the name of the god in question, as in the case of Διὸς πόλις, then they have the name of his sacred animal in the plural, as, e.g., Κυνῶν πόλις for 'House of Anubis,' and Κροκοδείλων πόλις for 'House of Suchos.' In the Greek rendering of Pithom given above, therefore, the 'Hroes seem to take the place of the sacred animals.

3. After the fall of the Old Kingdom (c. 2100 B.C.) the identification of the dead with Osiris, which had been customary in the case of kings, was gradually extended to others—first of all to members of the royal family, then to the feudal nobility (who at that time also arrogated to themselves other privileges of royalty), and finally to



all human beings without distinction of rank. The logical result of this should have been that in the realm of the dead there existed rulers only, and no subjects. But in point of fact the attribute Osiris seems very soon to have lost its original force. The deceased N, who is called 'Osiris N,' was in no sense identical with the god Osiris, who continues as before to be king in the realm of the dead, and therefore rules over the 'Osiris N' also. The dead who are so designated worship Osiris, justify themselves before his judgment-seat, etc.

4. A special apotheosis seems in later times to have been accorded to those who were drowned in the Nile, probably because, according to the legend, Osiris had suffered a like fate. Those who died in this way were regarded as having been peculiarly distinguished by the gods, and were styled 'glorified' (*hâse*)—a term which at an earlier period appears to have been applied more generally to all the blessed dead (cf. *beati*). According to Herod. ii. 90, the bodies of the drowned were entombed with peculiar pomp (cf. Griffith, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xlv. [1909-10] 132).

5. That a cult of the deified high priests of Heliopolis and Memphis existed at Pathyris in Ptolemaic times is evidenced by a number of papyri (Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the J. Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1909, iii. 132, n. 9).

II. INDIVIDUAL DEIFICATION. — 1. Deified kings and queens.—(1) The earliest instance of this may have been Osiris. This deity, so highly honoured in later times, was in some remote age, as it would seem, a hero in whose person the idea of the unity of the Egyptian people came to be embodied: hence the myth of the dismemberment of his body and the distribution of the parts among the Egyptian nomes. He was regarded as having been a good and noble monarch, who was treacherously murdered, somewhat like the Siegfried of Teutonic mythology, and then restored to life by means of magic, though he did not resume his earthly existence, but lives on in the under world as king of the dead. He is always portrayed in a purely human fashion, with certain symbols of royalty which pertain to him alone among the gods—the Upper Egyptian diadem adorned with

two ostrich feathers , as also the scourge

, and the crook , the primitive emblems


of sovereignty. It is possible, however, that these symbols may have been transferred to him from an ancient local deity with whom he was subsequently identified (see below). In the earlier religious literature of the 'Pyramid Texts' Osiris very seldom plays an active part like the other gods. The theme of interest is, nearly everywhere in these texts, found in his experiences, his death, and his resurrection. What had happened to him would happen also to the deceased king, who is, in fact, generally identified with him.

The suffering Osiris, thus conceived of as purely human, was in his origin as little a god of vegetation or of the dead as was Christ, with whom he has many points of resemblance. He, too, founded a confessional religion of a personal and ethical stamp, which forms a most decided contrast to the numerous Egyptian local cults based on fetishism, as well as to the Nature-religions indigenous to Egypt from primitive times (worship of the sun, the sky, the Nile), and which in the course of centuries gradually extended its range, to some extent with a conscious rejection of other forms of religion (the mysteries, communal life).


The earliest triumphs of his cult must certainly go back to a very remote past. Even while Heliopolis was the capital of a united Egypt,¹ and when the Heliopolitan theology instituted the 'great divine ennead of Heliopolis,' he not only found a place in that group as one of the representatives of the past—beside the great cosmic deities (sun, air, sky, earth) and the national god of the southern kingdom of Upper Egypt, which had been overthrown by the kings of Lower Egypt, and was now subject to it—but he actually became the centre of the whole artificial system. He was made the son of the divine pair, Heaven and Earth.² Horus again, who, as the national deity of the dominant kingdom of Lower Egypt, represented the present, and therefore remained outside the ennead, became the son of Osiris. Seth, the god of the Upper Egyptian kingdom, and now the last member of the ennead, was branded as the slayer of Osiris, and the arch-villain who had been guilty of dismembering the kingdom. These two local deities, Horus and Seth, were originally of a purely fetishistic character, and had at first no more to do with the hero Osiris than had the cosmic deities who had come to be recognized as his parents. Thus the Heliopolitan theology was even then completely under the influence of the Osirian faith.

Osiris seems to have become the god of the dead (Khentamenti, 'the chief of the Westerners') and the god of Abydos only in the historic era, and probably in consequence of the deceased king's identification with him and of the fact that the tombs of the earliest historical kings (Ist and IInd dynasties) were situated at Abydos, the necropolis of This, their capital. It thus came about that the grave of Osiris was sought in Abydos, and was found among the ancient royal tombs there. The function of the god of the dead and the designation 'chief of the Westerners' were thereby transferred from the dog-shaped local god Anubis to Osiris (E. Meyer, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xli. [1904] 97). Between 2500 and 2100 B.C., in consequence of this development, Abydos became a pre-eminent centre of pilgrimage for all Egyptians.

If originally Osiris had no connexion with Abydos, he would seem to have had as little with his other sanctuary, situated in the Delta, and subsequently named Busiris ('House of Osiris') after him. Here, too, he either superseded or absorbed an older local god, the *nuty* depicted as an idol in

the form . It was presumably from this deity,

who in the earlier religious literature is called 'the chief of the Eastern nomes' (of the Delta), and may perhaps have been the god of a small kingdom comprising these nomes, that Osiris acquired the symbols of sovereignty by which his images were distinguished in later times.

In Memphis, likewise, Osiris seems to have been identified with the fetish worshipped there, ,

'the magnificent Ded-pillar,' as also with Ptah and Soker, only after the Old Kingdom was at an end. The violent death which, according to the legend, he met with in the waters of the Nile brought him into close relations with the sacred river itself. Like the Memphite Ptah, Osiris now came to be identified with it, and the idea of his resurrection fitted in with the annual inundation. His life and death were interpreted as referring to the

¹ About 1000 years before the dawn of the historical era, at the time when the Egyptian calendar was introduced (4242 B.C.).

² Heaven and Earth were formerly believed to be the parents of the sun-god Rē, but Rē is now at the head of the ennead and their grandfather.

growth and decay of Nature. He thus eventually became the god of vegetation, from whose corpse the corn was supposed to spring.

(2) King Sesostrius III. (1837–1850 B.C.), who completed the subjugation of Northern Nubia begun by his predecessors, and protected this new province of the Egyptian kingdom by the erection of fortresses, had already become a national deity in that district in the time of the New Kingdom, and, along with the ancient Nubian deity *Dd-wn*, was worshipped under his sacred name of *Kha'-keo-rē*, which denotes his relation to the sun-god Rē (the Rē-name). Thutmose III. (1501–1447 B.C.), who, in similar fashion, completed the reconquest of Nubia begun by his own predecessors, erected in that country temples, and instituted sacrifices and festivals, for the deified Sesostrius. The latter was thus treated altogether like a god, but he is portrayed and designated as an Egyptian king, exactly as in his lifetime.

See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1849–60, iii. 48 ff.; Breasted, *op. cit.* ii. § 167 ff., and *History of Egypt*, New York, 1905, pp. 186, 269, 317.

(3) King Amenemmes III. (1849–1801 B.C.), the builder of the so-called Labyrinth near Hawara, at the entrance to the Fayyūm, became subsequently a tutelary deity of that oasis, for the economic development of which he (the Mæris of Herodotus?) must have done good service. Under his Rē-name of *La-ma'-rē* (*Λαμαρίς*), in its abbreviated form *Ma'-rē* (*Μαρής*, *Μαρηής*), or, with the addition of 'Pharaoh,' the later Egyptian term for king, as *Παραμαρής*, *Πρεμαρής*, he is frequently mentioned in monuments of the Græco-Roman period from the Fayyūm, and especially from the vicinity of his pyramid and his mausoleum (the Labyrinth). He is there depicted in the stereotyped attitude of the gods, except that his head is that of an Egyptian king and bears the royal head-band.

See further, Rubensohn, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xlii. [1905] 111 ff.; Spiegelberg, *ib.* xliii. [1906] 84 ff.

(4) Menes (c. 3300 B.C.), the deified founder of the Egyptian centralized State of historical times, is believed by Wileken to be identical with the similarly named deity *Παραμῆς* or *Φαραμῆς*, who is frequently mentioned in Greek papyri from the village of Tebtunis in the Fayyūm (Mitteis-Wileken, *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, i. 1. p. 106).

(5) King Amenophis I. (c. 1551–1535 B.C.), son of that King Amosis who expelled the Hyksos and founded the New Kingdom, was regarded, from c. 1300 B.C., as a guardian deity of the Theban necropolis. In that capacity he is often portrayed in tombs and coffins of this period—mostly in the form of a reigning king, but with the scourge and crook, as borne by Osiris. In his honour was observed the festival of Pa-amen-hotp ('the [festival] of Amenophis'), from which the month of Phamenoth derived its name.

(6) Amenophis III. (c. 1415–1380 B.C.), whose reign seems to mark the zenith of Egypt's position as a world-power, instituted in his own honour a divine cult in the temple of Soleb, in Nubia, built by himself, his name here being 'Neb-ma'-rē, the lord of Nubia,' or 'N. the great god.' In the sculptures which adorn the walls of this sanctuary, the god is depicted as being worshipped by the king himself, and is called by him 'his living image upon earth.' In the inscriptions, the king dedicates the temple to the god, and speaks of himself as being beloved by the latter. In short, Amenophis treats his deified self in every way as an independent divinity. The god is represented as a king wearing the royal head-band, but as having around his ears the twisted ram's horns peculiar to Amun in Nubia and in the Oasis of Ammon (Siwa), and upon his head a small crest

(modius) bearing the moon's crescent and disk, as worn by the ancient lunar deities, Thoth of Shmun and Khonsu of Thebes. He thus comes before us as a fusion of Amun and Khonsu.

Cf. Lepsius, iii. 85-87; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii. § 893 ff.

In the Græco-Roman period, the king who thus deified himself in Nubia was identified with Memnon, the legendary king of Ethiopia who came to the help of the Trojans. His colossal statues in Western Thebes, which bore the name 'Neb-ma-rē', lord of lords' (Lepsius, iii. 142, 144; Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, Cairo, 1825-30, p. 30), are the famous colossi of Memnon, one of which, after being overthrown by an earthquake in 27 B.C., used to give forth a resonant note at sunrise, until it was restored in the reign of Septimius Severus (Letronne, 'La Statue vocale de Memnon,' in *MAIBL* x. [1833] 249). Its association with the Memnon of Greek mythology can be traced back to the Ptolemaic period, and is, therefore, of earlier date than its property of emitting sounds. In Greek documents of the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. the name τὰ Μενόβρεια is used of the locality called in Egyptian *Djeme*, the modern Medinet Habu, in which was situated not only the sepulchral temple of Amenophis III. with the two colossi in front of it, but also a great palace belonging to him.

It is evident, from various *quiproquos*, that the identification of Amenophis III. with the Greek Memnon is based upon his Rē'-name, Neb-ma-rē', which in that age was apparently abbreviated to Marē (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, i. 61, n. 1; ii. 6, n. 2). In the Babylonian letters from el-Amarna, dating from the king's own lifetime, his name is rendered by Nimmuria or Mimmuria, and its contemporary pronunciation may, therefore, have been something like Nemmāre' or Memmāre'. It is thus not inconceivable that the Greek mythical figure of the Ethiopian or Egyptian Memnon, whose name is not unlike the form just given, was in reality the final residuum of Egypt's three centuries' supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean, which, as has been indicated, culminated in the reign of Amenophis III. Moreover, it is precisely the names of this king and his consort that are met with repeatedly on objects of Egyptian origin found at Mycenæ and in Rhodes.

Among the Semitic peoples, again—unless all the evidence is at fault—the memory of this monarch would seem to have survived in the traditions regarding Nimrod, the mighty hunter of Cush (i.e. Nubia); and, as a matter of fact, Amenophis III. in his memorial scarabs, which, like commemorative coins, were designed to keep in remembrance the important events of his reign, has recorded not only the expansion of his kingdom from Kari in Nubia to Naharen on the Euphrates, but also his prowess as a hunter of lions and wild oxen (Breasted, *op. cit.* ii. § 860 ff.).

(7) A deified king of unknown name is found in the 'Pharaoh of Snmt' (i.e. the Island of Bige), worshipped in the Græco-Roman temples of the Island of Philæ. In the temple sculptures he is represented as an Egyptian king with the so-called war-helmet on his head. In a Greek inscription from the Island of Schêl he is called Περερσφής, 'the god of Bige,' and is identified with Hermes (Sethe, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xlvii. [1910] 166).

(8) King Ptolemy Philadelphus gave orders that Arsinoë, his sister and wife, 'the goddess who loves her brother' (Φιλάδελφος), who died in 270 B.C., should be worshipped along with the local deities in all the temples of the country as θεὰ σάνναος, and that a tax of one-sixth of all garden-produce should be devoted to her cult. In the Fayyûm she became a nome goddess, and this fertile region was thereafter called the Arsinoite

nome. A temple of Arsinoë at Memphis is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Memphite high-priests in the Ptolemaic period. In the sculptures of the Egyptian monuments the deified queen appears as a purely human figure, but in the inscriptions she is styled 'daughter of Amun,' and 'Divine mother of the living Apis, the king of all the other divine animals.'

Cf. W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, i. (Leipzig, 1905) 348; Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge d. Papyruskunde*, i. 2, p. 284; Sethe, *Urkunden d. ägypt. Altertums*, ii. (Leipzig, 1904) 106 ff.

2. Deified individuals not of royal rank.—(1) I-m-hôtep (Ἰμοῦθης), chief architect to Tosorthos of the IIIrd Dynasty (c. 2900 B.C.), the king who built the step pyramid of Saqqara, the oldest edifice of hewn stone in Egypt, is said to have discovered the art of building with that material, but was renowned in later times also as a physician, an astrologer, and the author of wise writings. In the period of the New Kingdom, i.e. after 1580 B.C. (one instance found in Thebes under Amenophis III.), it was the custom with writers, in beginning their work, to make a libation from their water-bowl in honour of I-m-hôtep as their patron (Schäfer, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xxxvi. [1898] 147; Gardiner, *ib.* xl. [1902] 146). By this time, therefore, he seems to have become a kind of demi-god, and to have lost his human character.

Afterwards, in the Persian period (from 525 B.C.), he became a god in the full sense, who was specially concerned with healing, and was subsequently identified by the Greeks with Asklepios. His cult was attached to his tomb, which, according to Egyptian usage, was situated beside the Pyramid of his patron; and here stood the Asklepieion often referred to in Greek papyri from Saqqara. To this new hero-god, as being originally a Memphite deity, was assigned a divine father in Ptah (Hephæstus), in place of his actual father, Ka-nofer, who is known to us from a genealogy dating from the beginning of the Persian period. His mother, Khredu'-onekh, and his wife, Kompetnofret, were also raised to divine rank, and are often found in association with him. Their names and titles clearly reveal their human origin.

In the numerous statuettes of this god which have come down to us, and which were, no doubt, dedicated to his temple mainly by persons restored to, or in search of, health, he is figured as altogether human, as a learned man sitting on a chair and reading a book (A. Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, p. 174). We certainly have figures on the temple walls which, while still giving him a human form, show him in the attire and with the bearing of the gods, but these figures date only from the Græco-Roman period. In that age we frequently meet with his cult also in Upper Egypt, as, e.g., in Thebes and Edfu, as well as in Philæ, where Ptolemy Epiphanes erected a small temple in his honour.

Even after his apotheosis I-m-hôtep frequently receives, in addition to the epithet 'Son of Ptah,' expressive of his divine origin, his erstwhile human titles, 'reciting priest,' 'expert in affairs,' etc., but only in cases where the reference is to his achievements as a man in the remote past. It is worthy of note that here he is also designated as 'Ibis,' i.e. as the sacred bird of the god Thoth, who was believed to have the form of that bird—a designation which re-appears in connexion with the deified individuals discussed below (nos. 2 and 3). It would thus seem that the sages of the past who were subsequently exalted to divine honours were thought of as incarnations of the god Thoth, somewhat in the same way as was indicated in I. 2, above.

Cf. Sethe, 'Imhotep der Asklepios der Ägypter' (*Untersuchungen*, ii. [1902] 98 ff.).

(2) A counterpart to this deified sage of old is met with in Theban temples on the left bank of the Nile dating from the Græco-Roman period, and also in funerary papyri of the same era. This is the famous Amen-hōtp (*Ἀμηνώτης*, *Ἀμηνώτης*), the son of Hapu, and a native of Athribis, who had won renown by a long and honourable career as a minister of the Amenophis III. mentioned above (II. I (6)). We possess several original monuments of him, as, e.g., a portrait-statue which represents him as an old man of eighty years, and the inscriptions on which contain moral apophthegms (*Catal. général du Musée du Caire*, no. 42127; Legrain, *Statues de rois et de particuliers*, Cairo, 1906, i. 78, pl. 76), while a second bears an autobiographical inscription (Breasted, *op. cit.* ii. § 913 ff.). A third statue, four metres in height, from the temple of Karnak, and now in the museum of Cairo, likewise contains an ostensibly autobiographical record, which, however, presupposes his deification, and speaks of him in exactly the same terms as do the temple inscriptions of Euergetes II. This monument, to judge from its style and orthography, cannot be earlier than the Græco-Roman period, and it bears, above its Egyptian inscription, a Greek dedication to the name of the Emperor Augustus (*RTAP* xix. [1897] 13).

This Amen-hōtp is also frequently mentioned in the monuments of his royal master. Manetho, who wrote his history of Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, refers to him, under the name of *Ἀμηνώτης Παάριος* (Egyp. *Amen-hōtp Pa-hapc*, i.e. 'the son of Apis'), as a wise counsellor of a king called Amenophis. It is clear, from what Manetho says of him, that Amen-hōtp had not yet been deified. Hence it is no merely accidental circumstance that our earliest evidences of his being regarded as a god all date from the reign of one particular king, viz. Ptolemy Euergetes II. In all probability it was in that reign that he first became a god. With this accords the fact that, in contrast to I-m-hōtep, he is still portrayed, in the temple sculptures already referred to, in a purely human fashion: he still wears the garb of his time, and his bearing is only in part that usually assigned to the gods. Moreover, though, like I-m-hōtep, he too is styled 'Ibis,' and has received, in addition to his human mother—named 't—a divine mother in the form of the goddess of writing and reckoning (*Sst*) (Lepsius, *Text*, iii. 168), and while the name of his father, Hapu, was interpreted as indicating the sacred bull Apis, yet Amen-hōtp still retains his human titles.

As we meet with the cult of Amen-hōtp only in temples of Western Thebes, it would in all probability be associated with his tomb, which, according to the custom of his time, would be situated in the Theban necropolis and nowhere else. The sepulchral chapel attached to his tomb is referred to in a protective ordinance which survives in a later inscription, executed probably some four hundred years after the death of Amen-hōtp (Möller, in *SBAW*, 1910, p. 932 ff.), and witnesses to the long survival of his cult as a departed spirit. Amen-hōtp resembles I-m-hōtep also in being a healing god. 'I expel all disease from thy body'—so he speaks to the king, offering sacrifice to him (Lepsius, iv. 32c; cf. *JHS* xix. [1899] 13 ff.; *Catal. général du Musée du Caire*, no. 9304; J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1905, p. 37). He too is said to have composed wise maxims, and, in fact, a number of the sayings attributed to the Seven Wise Men of Greece were ascribed to him (Wilcken, in *Aegyptiaca*, *Festschr. für Ebers*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 142 ff.). Cf. Sethe, in *Aegyptiaca*, 107 ff.

(3) Ptolemy Euergetes II., in whose reign, as

has been said, the deification of the sage Amen-hōtp, the son of Hapu, seems to have taken place, erected at Medinet Habu, in Western Thebes, a small temple in honour of Thoth, the god of wisdom, who appears to have been worshipped there under the designation of 'Thoth, Teos the Ibis' (*Τεεφίβης*), and 'Thoth *štm*.' We have here a deified high priest of Memphis (*štm*)¹ named Teos, who was thus identified with the god of wisdom, and hence also designated as 'the Ibis.' This would seem to be the same person who is referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21 [p. 399]) as the 'Theban Hermes,' and as an instance of the deification of human beings.

Now there was, as we know, a Memphite high priest named Teos in the Ptolemaic period; according to the inscription on his tombstone (now in Vienna), he lived from 267 to 224 B.C. But, as the office of high priest in Memphis was hereditary, it is possible that he had predecessors and successors of the same name as himself. Cf. Sethe, 'Imhotep,' p. 9 (*Untersuchungen*, ii. 100 f.).

(4) In 238 B.C., by an ordinance of the Egyptian priests, the prematurely deceased daughter of Ptolemy Euergetes I. was deified (*ἐκθέωρος*) under the title of *Βερενίκη ἀνάσσει παρθένω*, and it was also enjoined that 'statues of this goddess' should be set up in all the temples of the country (Decree of Canopus).

(5) Another deified man of the later era (after 900 B.C.) must—if we are to judge from the name—be recognized in the god Petesuchos or Petesuchis (i.e. Egyp. *Pete-subek*, 'he whom the god Suchos gave'). In Pliny (*HN* xxxvi. 84) he is erroneously identified with the king who built the Labyrinth. This hero-god was depicted as a crocodile, like Suchos, the old local deity of the Fayyūm, from whom he took his name. Here perhaps we have a parallel to the designation of the deified sages as 'Ibis,' the sacred bird of Thoth (see 1-3 above).

Cf. Wilcken, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xxii. [1884] 1367, and Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge d. Papyruskunde*, i. 1, p. 106.

(6) In the temple of Dendur in Lower Nubia, built in the reign of Augustus, there were worshipped, among others, two brothers named Pete-ese and Pa-hor, the deified sons of a certain Kwpri; their names seem to point to the later period. In addition to the usual designations of the dead, 'Osiris' and 'justified,' they bear the epithet 'glorified' (*hšj*), or 'glorified in the necropolis,' and for this reason Griffith conjectures that they had died by drowning. Pete-ese sometimes receives the title 'the snake of destiny' (*šai* = *ἀγαθοδαίμων*) who [is] in *Ht* (the name of the locality), placed after his own name, and, therefore, a divine epithet, while Pa-hor bears the enigmatic designation *Phri*, 'the chief' (*Φρι*.) before his own name, and, accordingly, as a human title. The two brothers are portrayed in human form, but in their bearing and garb altogether as gods.

Cf. Griffith, *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xli. [1909-10] 134; A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendur* (*Les Temples immergés de la Nubie*, Cairo, 1911, iii.).

(7) Finally, the two hero-gods just mentioned, who may possibly have owed their apotheosis to a death by drowning, would find a parallel in Antinous, the celebrated favourite of the Emperor Hadrian. While accompanying the Emperor on his Egyptian journey, he is said to have thrown himself into the Nile in order that he might by his own death save his patron from imminent peril. On the spot where this took place Hadrian founded a Roman city, which he called Antinopolis, and in which he in all likelihood instituted a cult in honour of the youth, as a city-hero, or,

¹ The spelling of this word shows that it is not the equivalent of 'to hear,' as in the proper name *Θοορύγιος* ('Thoth, hear!'), which Spiegelberg (*Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xlv. [1908-09] 90) would compare with it.

according to the Egyptian mode of speech, as a 'city-god' (i.e. a local deity), and this is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the Emperor caused divine honours to be paid to Antinous elsewhere. See P. von Rohden, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2439.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article.
K. SETHE.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Greek and Roman).—The belief in heroes plays a very important part in the development of Greek religion, and to an extent which literature, taken by itself, insufficiently demonstrates. The conception of a hero arose from the prevalence of ancestor-worship, when the spirit of the dead man was canonized by his descendants. Remembering the identification of demons with the ghosts of the departed (see **DEMONS AND SPIRITS** [Greek]), we shall not be surprised to find that demons and heroes are sometimes treated as indistinguishable (e.g. Plat. *Apol.* 27 D). But, when a distinction was drawn between them, demons, though inferior to gods, were, in their turn, regarded as superior to heroes (Plut. *de Def. Or.* 10, p. 415 B). This classification, which is the product of later reflection, may be traced ultimately to the verses of Hesiod, who makes the demons the representatives of the Golden Age of man (*Op.* 122), but regards the Age of the Heroes as immediately prior to his own (*ib.* 159 ff.). These are they, he adds, who fought before the gates of Thebes, and crossed the sea to bring back fair-haired Helen from Troy; and after death they dwell free from care in the Islands of the Blessed beside the stream of Ocean. The heroes were definitely understood by Hesiod to have been men of renown, who lived in the age celebrated by epic poetry, and whose exploits had been immortalized as the achievements of a semi-divine race (Hom. *Il.* xii. 23; *Hom. Hym.* xxxii. 18 f.; Simonid. fr. 36). Though there is thus one point of view from which demons are preferred to heroes, it is equally true that the demonic being is a more primitive conception; and that the hero, with his clearly-marked personality and more intimate relations with his worshippers, is the product of a more advanced stage in religious thought. Further, demon is the wider term: every hero might be described as a demon, but not all demons were heroes. Although the derivation of the word *ἥρωας* is unknown, there is reason for thinking that it was originally an adjective bearing some such meaning as 'strong' or 'noble' (Hesych. s.v.), so that it may have been an honorific title intended to distinguish the souls of those among the departed whose protection and favour it was desired to secure.

The old view that hero-worship arose from a weakening of the belief in gods can no longer be maintained in the light of recent research (Rohde, *Psyche*, 1483). The ritual facts, as will presently be shown, are decisive against it, and the transition of thought which it assumes is by no means characteristic of the tendency of an early society. Even if it were conceded that old divinities might be re-fashioned as men, and so at a later stage come to be worshipped as heroes, that would be insufficient to prove that a hero is ever derived immediately from a god. The heroes in their original form, as ghosts of ancestors, were neither demi-gods, if that term is used to describe living warriors, nor demons, who have never been incarnate in human shape. It is more difficult to account for the fact that hero-worship, which can be shown to have flourished in the 7th cent. B.C. or even earlier, exercised—so far as we can see—hardly any influence on the practice of Homeric society. Somehow or other, old beliefs in the

power of the dead, which were temporarily obscured during the flourishing period of epic poetry, sprang anew into life and dominated popular thought in the succeeding centuries and throughout the classical era. Or it may be that, as the political system which supported the courts of the feudal chieftains fell away and decayed, the voice of the commoner, whose primitive superstition had remained unchanged, became articulate in later literature.

There are many facts which attest the connexion of heroes with the under world, and especially with the ghosts of ancestors. The central hearth of the house, under which the hero was buried (cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 37), and near to which a precinct was reserved for him, was an object of especial veneration in family-worship (cf. art. **HEARTH** [Greek]). Or an image of the hero might be set up close to the house-door (Callim. *Epigr.* 26), in order to protect the inmates against the approach of their enemies. At every family meal the second libation was poured out in honour of the heroes (Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 25, p. 270 A), and to them belonged all the broken fare which fell from the table (Arist. fr. 180 R.). In regard to the latter custom, Athenæus (427 E) states that dead kinsmen are actually the recipients, and it is not to be doubted that the pouring of the wine on the ground was for the benefit of the family ghosts.

Heroes were kept in remembrance by their graves, as may be seen from the case of the shrine erected in honour of Protesilaus on the shore of the Thracian Chersonese, which, though despoiled by the order of Xerxes (Herod. ix. 116), was still an object of veneration in the time of Philostratus (*Her.* iii. 1 f.). The grave itself was a mound of earth (*χωμα*) situated within a sacred enclosure (*τρέμενος*, or, more strictly, *σηκός* [Poll. i. 6]). Over the mound a small chapel (*ἡρώον*) was raised, the precinct was planted with trees, and its limits were marked by a stone wall (*θρυγκός* [Paus. i. 42. 8]). The most distinctive feature of the locality was the eavty (*βόθρος*) communicating with the interior of the grave, into which the blood of the victim was poured or other offerings were cast. Thus, the tomb of the hero actually served as an altar (*βωμός*) for his worshippers, and might be so described (Eur. *Iel.* 547, with the present writer's note). Strictly, however, since no elevation was essential, a circular hollow in the ground (*ἐσχάρα* [Reisch, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 615]) was the appropriate receptacle for offerings to heroes. The sacrificial terms applied to hero-worship belong also to chthonic worship in general (for *ἐναιτίζειν*, as distinguished from *θεύειν*, see Herod. ii. 44), and the ritual was the same: the victims—generally black bulls or rams—were slaughtered so that the blood from their throats fell into the hollow of the altar, to be drunk by the ghost (*αἱμακομία*); their heads were pressed downwards so that they looked towards the earth (*ἐντρομα*, as explained by schol. Hom. *Il.* i. 459); none of the flesh was eaten, but the whole of it was consumed by fire; or—since the employment of an animal victim was by no means universal—when firstfruits of all kinds (Thuc. iii. 58) as well as cakes and cheese were offered to them, none of the gifts must be touched subsequently by the human worshippers. There is the same significance in the fact that offerings to heroes were often made by night or towards evening (Pind. *Isth.* iii. 83; Ap. Rhod. i. 587); in the custom of beating the ground (Æsch. *Pers.* 685), or of kneeling before the tomb (Soph. *El.* 453); and in the annual recurrence of the ceremony to commemorate the hero's death. The institution of funeral games over the grave of a dead hero was a common custom (e.g. Paus. viii. 4. 5), and it is generally supposed that such was the

origin of the four great pan-Hellenic festivals, which were afterwards brought into connexion with the cult of an Olympian god.

See Rohde⁴, 152; Eitrem, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 1126. An attempt has recently been made by F. M. Cornford, in J. E. Harrison's *Themis*, 212 ff., to explain the games as originally and essentially a New Year's festival. This view accords with the general argument of the authoress that the hero is a later conception derived from that of the year-daimon (*op. cit.* 375).

A remarkable feature in the worship of a hero is that he was supposed to appear in the form of a snake. So Cychreus was figured at Salamis, and Erichthonius at Athens (Paus. i. 36. 1, i. 24. 7). Vergil describes the arrival of an enormous snake when Æneās was celebrating the anniversary of his father's death by the performance of solemn rites at his tomb (*Æn.* v. 84 ff.). The superstitious man in Theophrastus (*Char.* 16), if he saw a snake in the house, at once erected a small chapel on the spot. The snake is also frequently depicted in the class of reliefs known as the Dead-Feast type, in which the hero is represented as partaking of a meal (Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 20 ff.; Eitrem, 1142 f.). Plutarch, in his *Life of Cleomenes* (39), says that, after Cleomenes had been put to death by Ptolemy and his body impaled, a snake was seen wound round his head; and certain learned men explained the occurrence by propounding the theory that snakes are produced within a human corpse by the thickening of the juices of the marrow. The explanation, which is also given in a speech of Pythagoras recorded in *Ov. Met.* xv. 389, is perhaps due to the rationalizing tendency of popular opinion at a time when the superstition had ceased to be credible. Although the association of the snake with death and the grave appears to be free from doubt, it has, nevertheless, recently been maintained that the snake-attribute of a hero points to his origin as a fertility-daimon, and symbolizes the resurrection of life in the new year (J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, 271, 310).

The worship of ancestors in general culminates in the worship of a hero as the representative of the family. He is no longer one of a class in which all the members are equally entitled to veneration. There has arisen a belief that, in accordance with the measure of their achievements on earth, distinguished men are to be held in esteem after death, and that in virtue of their mysterious influence they can exercise a wide range of power over their former haunts. Thus, one who has become famous as a ruler or a warrior is selected by his immediate descendants to occupy a supreme position as eponymous founder of the clan (*ἀρχηγέτης*). In this sense Cecrops may be said to give his name to the Cecropidae, Butes to the Eteobutade, Ææus to the Æacidæ, and so forth. It may be true that some of these name-givers never had any individual existence, but that their names were projected, so to speak, in order to express the unity of a clan-group (J. E. Harrison, *op. cit.* 267). But, however the actual particular facts may have come to pass historically—and it is unlikely that the development was uniform in every group—the conception of the hero in the classical age figured him as the remote forefather to whom the members of the clan proudly referred their birth. The wide-spread belief that gods and men were of the same race led to the further conclusion that the most glorious of mankind must have been of divine origin; the eponymous heroes of the clans were the sons of the gods. There is thus a difference not only of degree but of kind between the class of heroes and their mortal descendants; the progress of the religious sense has evolved a new grade of supernatural beings capable of recruitment from the ranks either of gods or of men (Eitrem, 1129).

The relationship of heroes to the gods must now be examined in detail. It frequently happens that

the chapel or grave of a hero is in the temple of one of the great gods. Saron lay in the temple of the Saronic Artemis (Paus. ii. 30. 7), Iphigenia in that of the same goddess at Brauron (Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1462). Telmessus was buried under the altar of Apollo at Telmessus (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* ii. 45), Eurystheus in the temple of Athene Pallenis (Eur. *Heracl.* 1025), and Cleobis and Biton in the Heraeum at Argos (Herod. i. 31). The list might be very largely increased; but, in order to appreciate its significance, we must rule out any suggestion that the shrines of these local worthies were superimposed on the existing sanctuaries of the Olympian gods. We should rather infer that hero-worship was a survival from an older system of religion, which preceded the establishment of the greater cults.

There are other indications which point to a conflict between the representatives of an older and a later system. Apollo drove out Hyacinthus at Tarentum (Polyb. viii. 30. 2); Artemis came to terms with Callisto in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 35. 8); and Aphrodite was identified with Ariadne at Naxos (Plut. *Thes.* 20). Sometimes the superseded hero assumed the functions of founder of the new cult, or of minister and attendant to the new god. Thus we read that Aristæus built an altar to Zeus Ikmaios in Ceos (Ap. Rhod. ii. 522); and hence the numerous stories of a god welcomed by a mortal, who was held in honourable remembrance on that account, as when Dionysus was welcomed by Icarus and Pegasus. Sometimes the god took over the honours instituted for a hero, as when Zeus succeeded to the funeral games established at Nemea as a memorial to Archemorus (Arg. to Pind. *Nem.*), or when the Rhodian celebration dedicated to Tlepolemus was transferred to Helios (schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 146). Sometimes, again, the Olympian has entirely effaced the reputation of the hero, whose name has been forgotten: Pausanias (i. 1. 4) mentions that there were altars at Phalerum dedicated to certain unknown gods and heroes, and also that an altar which was inscribed to an anonymous hero was known by antiquarians to belong to Androgeos. Whenever the hero has been subordinated to the god, but the recollection of his former eminence has not entirely passed away, a preliminary offering made to the hero precedes the celebration of the chief sacrifice. In this way Pelops was honoured at Olympia (schol. Pind. *Ol.* i. 149), and Seephrus at the festival of Apollo Agyiens at Tegea (Paus. viii. 53. 3); and on Mount Helicon the worshippers made offerings every year to the hero Linus before the sacrifice to the Muses (*ib.* ix. 29. 6).

If we find certain mythical personages appearing now as gods and now as heroes, the variation may be attributed either to the promotion of a hero to the status of a god or to the reduction of a god to that of a hero. The latter process, as we have already seen, cannot be used to explain the origin of hero-worship in general; but it is currently assumed as an element in the possession of heroic attributes by certain of the greater gods (Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, pp. 254 f., 273; Rohde⁴, 148₂; Eitrem, 1129). When Dionysus is addressed as a hero in the old ritual chant of Elis (*Poet. Lyr. Gr.*⁴ iii. 656)—the earliest example of the cult title—an explanation is drawn from his recent association in legend with Semele, the daughter of Cadmus. The growth of legendary stories about the gods, or the introduction of their names into the genealogical tables of princely families, accounts for the ambiguous position of the Dioscuri and Helen, of Asclepius and Heracles, of Theseus and Amphiarans. Another view has recently been advocated: that the conception of an Olympian god is always later than that of the

hero from which it was developed (J. E. Harrison, *Proleg.* 326 ff., *Themis*, 365 ff.), that the individual history of the hero is due to a re-fashioning of elements derived from still more primitive cults, and that the Dioscuri and Theseus are ultimately the impersonations of fertility-daimons (*Themis*, 304, 317). The difference in treatment is exaggerated by the ambiguity of the terms employed, when one investigator uses 'god' (*θεός*) in a wider sense as including 'demon,' and another in a narrower and more refined. Thus, it is unreasonable to doubt that Helen was worshipped as a 'goddess' in the Peloponnese before the details of her heroic story were commemorated by Homer; but, on the other hand, so far from having attained to Olympian dignity, she may have been nothing more than a tree-spirit (Dendritis in Rhodes [Paus. iii. 19. 9]) or a local demon. The advancement of a hero to divine rank is less disputable: the Phocæan colonists at Pityoessa paid divine honours to Lampase, who had previously been worshipped as a heroine (Plut. *Mul. Virt.* p. 255 E); the hero Tlepolemus received burnt sacrifice as a god at Rhodes (Pind. *Ol.* vii. 77); and Hippolytus was raised to heaven as a divine charioteer (Paus. ii. 32. 1).

When the significance of the hero as a being intermediate between gods and men was generally recognized, it became natural to apply the name—as a synonym of 'demon'—to various supernatural potencies of secondary rank. Hence it was transferred to the gods of limited jurisdiction (*Sondergötter*), whose importance for the history of religion has been demonstrated by Usener (p. 75 f.). To this class belonged the hero Acratopotes (drinker of unmixed wine) at Munychia, and the heroes Matton (baker) and Ceraon (wine-mixer) at Sparta (Athen. 39 C), whose function was that of superintending the slaves engaged upon the preparation and service of the meals. Similar to these were the Telchin Mylas, the demon Eunostos (miller), and the bogey Alphito (white-meal). Another group comprised the spirits which watched over vegetation. Phytius, the Ætolian, son of Orestheus and father of Ceneus (Hecat. fr. 341), and Phytalus, who entertained Demeter in his house near the Cephissus (Paus. i. 37. 2), became individualized in spite of the obvious significance of their names; but Calamites (reed-spirit), Cymites (bean-spirit), and Hadreus (spirit of ripening) were on another footing. Another department belonged to the spirits which protected against particular evils, such as the wind-stiller (*Εὐδάνεμος*) at Athens, or the fly-hunter (*Μύλαγρος*) at Aliphera in Arcadia; and another to the guardian spirits, the sentries (*Τερχοφύλαξ*), and night-watchers (Lucian, *Peregr.* 27). Phylacus was the significant name of one of the two heroic warriors of more than human stature who protected the Delphians against the Persian invaders (Herod. viii. 39). In the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus was found an inscription on the entablature of a limestone column in honour of the hero Key-bearer (*Κλαυκοφόρος*), who, according to Usener (p. 265), had undertaken the responsibility for the safe-keeping of the temple. The Hesychiadæ, who ministered to the worship of the Semnæ on the Areopagus, claimed descent from the hero Hesyclus, and on every occasion when an offering was made to the goddesses a ram was sacrificed to him (schol. Soph. *Ed. Col.* 489). He was the impersonation of religious silence, and corresponded to the Doric hero Euphemus, who, however, is known solely from the Argonautic saga as the steersman of the Argo. In all the cases which have been enumerated, the heroes, except where they acquired a legendary personality, became shadowy abstractions which failed to maintain their privileges on

the advent of the fully-developed forces of the greater gods. The usual result was that they lost their identity, and survived only as epithets attached to the name of the Olympians. Hence we find Zeus Myleus and Demeter Himalis, Zeus Phytius and Poseidon Phytalius, Zeus Apomnius and Apollo Parnopios, and Zeus Euphamius, Heracles Hoplophylax, and Apollo Prophylax.

It will have been observed that the hero was believed to exercise protective power within a prescribed sphere. The grave, as we have already seen, was the cult-centre, and the influence of the hero may be said to have radiated outwards from it. Just as the hero, so long as he was regarded merely as a family guardian, was buried beneath the hearth or close to the doorstep, so, when his influence had spread to a wider circle, his tomb was placed where it might best serve the interests of the township. Thus Adrastus lay in the central agora at Sicyon (Herod. v. 67); Melanippus in the Prytaneum, the hearth of the State, at the same place (Pind. *Nem.* xi.); and Ætolus hard by the city-gate at Elis (Paus. v. 4. 4). As the blessing anticipated from the hero was dependent on the security of his grave, it was a matter of supreme importance that the remains of national heroes who had died abroad should be brought under the control of the State. Hence Cimon restored the bones of Theseus from Scyros to Athens (Plut. *Thes.* 35); Orestes was brought from Tegea to Sparta (Herod. i. 67), and Rhesus from Troy to Amphipolis (Polyæn. vi. 53); and the lost shoulder-blade of Pelops was recovered for Elis (Paus. v. 13. 4). Or, if a foreigner whose assistance might be needed had died in the country, it became the duty of the government jealously to protect his grave, as in the classic instances of Ædipus (Soph. *Ed. Col.* 409 ff.) and Eurystheus (Eur. *Heracl.* 1025 ff.). In the case of Tiresias, who died at Haliartia, the Thebans were obliged to be content with a cenotaph (Paus. ix. 18. 4). There were good reasons, therefore, for keeping the hero's place of burial concealed from strangers, lest they should molest it for their own purposes (Soph. *Ed. Col.* 1522 f.). This consideration may serve to explain why the position of the graves of Neleus and Sisyphus at Corinth was always unknown (Paus. ii. 2. 2). The result of such secrecy was that in certain cases the name itself was forgotten, and the locality passed under the protection of the grave of an unknown hero (Rohde⁴, 161 ff.). This scrupulous concern for the remains of the mighty dead was one of the features which the Christian Church inherited from paganism; and it is sufficient in this connexion to refer to the custody of sacred relics, and the burial of monarchs and bishops within the cathedral sanctuaries (Eitrem, 1122).

The saving qualities of the heroes might be manifested in various ways. Some of these have already been indicated, and particularly the exercise of their power by those who furthered the increase of crops. Hippolytus and Protesilaus heard the vows of lovers, and assisted or consoled them as occasion might require (Philostr. *Her.* iii. 3. 14; Eur. *Hipp.* 1423 ff.). But that was a form of activity altogether exceptional. The benefits normally to be derived from heroes may be put into three classes: (a) Help in time of danger, and especially in battle. Thus Theseus and Echelos assisted the Athenians against the Persians at the battle of Marathon (Plut. *Thes.* 35; Paus. i. 32. 5). Spectres of armed men were seen holding out their arms to protect the Athenian ships at Salamis: these were the Æacids, whose assistance had been invoked before the battle (Plut. *Them.* 15). On the same occasion the hero Cychreus was alleged to have appeared in the form of a serpent (Paus. i.

36. 1).—(b) Health in time of sickness was especially invoked from Machaon and Podalirius, the sons of Asclepius, and others of his descendants such as Polemocrates, who healed in Thyreatis (Paus. ii. 38. 6). The ritual of incubation, according to which the suppliant slept in the temple on the skin of the victim which he had sacrificed (Lycophr. 1050), is full of interest, but must not detain us here. At Athens there was a sanctuary of the hero physician (Dem. xix. 249), which reminds us of the baker and miller heroes previously mentioned. But the power of healing was not confined to those who claimed it as their particular province: Heracles was a healer in Bœotia (Paus. ix. 24. 3) and elsewhere, and Helen is said to have changed an ugly child into a beautiful woman (Herod. vi. 61).—(c) The function of divination was regularly exercised. All over Greece were oracular shrines, where the tutelary hero forecast the future, and imparted his advice to the inquirer by means of a dream. The most famous was perhaps that of Trophonius at Lebadea in Bœotia, the procedure at which is described in detail by Pausanias (ix. 39). From many others we may select as representative the sanctuaries of Alcmaeon near to Thebes on the road leading to Delphi (Pind. *Pyth.* viii. 58), of Ino-Pasiphae at Thalamæ in Laconia (Paus. iii. 26. 1, Frazer), and of the seer Anios—the father of the three Ctenotrophi—at Delos (Rohde⁴, 176₃).

The power of the heroes to help corresponded with the measure of their revenge if slighted. They might bring defeat, as they did to the Persians in punishment of their impiety (Herod. viii. 109), or drought and barrenness, as when Actæon in anger ravaged the land of Orchomenos (Paus. ix. 38. 5), or when Theagenes punished the Thasians for flinging his statue into the sea, because it had fallen on one of his enemies and killed him (*ib.* vi. 11. 6 ff.). The hero Anagryos executed a terrible revenge upon an old man who had cut down a tree in his sacred grove. He inflamed the man's mistress with a passion for his son, and when, like Potiphar's wife, she accused him who had slighted her, the father blinded his son and bricked him up in a vault. Finally, the old man hanged himself, and the woman threw herself into a well (Suid. s.v. *Ἀναγρύσιος*). No wonder that men dreaded to come into the presence of such baleful spirits, that they passed by their sanctuaries in fearful silence (Aclephr. iii. 58), and averted their eyes lest they should encounter their apparitions (schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 1493). To the vulgar the heroes seemed more disposed to injure than to help; but it is a hyperbole when they are described as responsible for all the sufferings of mankind (Babr. 63).

The belief in heroes and their worship can be shown to have been firmly established in Greece from the 7th cent. B.C. onwards, so long as the framework of the ancient Greek civilization continued to persist. The ordinance of Draco commanding the Athenians to worship gods or heroes in accordance with inherited tradition (Porphyr. *de Abst.* iv. 22) proves that in his days hero-worship was no innovation; and its permanence is shown by the regular combination of the names of heroes with the gods in the oaths taken upon solemn occasions (Dinarch. i. 64). The reforms of Cleisthenes recognized the importance of the heroic ancestor, whose presidency was extended from the sphere of the clan to the artificial units of tribe and deme. The hero, as local demon, had sometimes merged his identity in the name of the settlement, as may be seen from the examples of Tænarus, Marathon, and Corinthus. In other conditions he was regarded as the leader and founder of the newly-established State, as was Danaus at Argos, Battus

at Cyrene, and Tlepolemus at Rhodes. It was a natural consequence in historical times that the personage to whom a new society owed its origin or its prosperity should be advanced to the rank of these mythical chieftains. Thus we find the cult of Miltiades established in the Thracian Chersonese; and in the same neighbourhood at Amphipolis, where a festival had been founded in honour of Hagnon as *οἰκιστής*, the citizens afterwards transferred their veneration to Brasidas by consecrating his tomb and investing him with the annual honours of games and sacrifices (Thuc. v. 11). Other military and political services were recognized in the same way: the cult of Leonidas survived at Sparta until the age of the Antonines (Paus. iii. 14. 1), and Harmodius and Aristogiton received heroic honours at Athens (Poioux, viii. 91).

But political merit did not stand alone in earning this posthumous honour. Cleomedes of Astypalæa and Ebotas of Dyme were canonized as Olympian victors (Paus. vi. 9. 3, vi. 3. 4); Bias of Priene for his wisdom (Diog. Lært. i. 88); and Philippus of Croton for his beauty (Herod. v. 47). Here may be added the honours freely accorded to literary celebrities, among whom may be mentioned Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Pindar, and Æschylus. The case of Sophocles was peculiar: he had welcomed Asclepius in his home, and honoured him with regular and formal worship, and consequently he was himself worshipped as a hero after death, under the title of Dexion, 'the Entertainer' (*Etym. Mag.* 256). The philosophical schools were organized as religious societies (*θιασμοί*), and it became the rule to honour the founder as a hero (Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, Berlin, 1881, p. 263 ff.). There is less of historical certainty in the heroization of Drimacus, the leader of runaway slaves in Chios (Athen. 266 D), and of Pixodarus, the Ephesian shepherd, who directed the officials charged with the building of a temple to a quarry of beautiful marble (Vitruv. x. 7).

Throughout historical times the influence of the Delphic oracle in recommending the establishment of a heroic cult (*e.g.*, Herod. i. 167) was very conspicuous; for the Delphian Apollo was regarded by every Greek as the greatest of seers in all that appertained to the worship of gods and heroes. The priests, we may well believe, shared the current superstitions of their age, even if they pursued a policy of self-interest by spreading cults which owed the charter of their establishment to Delphi (Rohde⁴, 180).

The belief was ultimately degraded by the heroization of living men. The earliest recorded example is perhaps the Syracusan Dion (Diodor. xvi. 20). The servility of the age of the Diadochi was reflected in the extravagance of the rewards showered upon Demetrius by the Sicyonians (*ib.* xx. 103). Posthumous honours, not merely heroic, but divine, were granted to the representatives of the dynasties of Ptolemy and Seleucus; and the second Ptolemy took a further step forward by permitting himself to be raised to the rank of a god during his life.

An entirely different cause—the increase of affectionate regard for the dead—contributed to the secularization of hero-worship. It became the practice for religious corporations so to honour one who had held high rank in the society, or even for private individuals to endow a religious foundation in honour of themselves or members of their own family. The best-known example of the latter is the will of Epicteta of Thasos, who left directions for the heroization of herself, her husband, and her two dead sons (Hiller v. Gärtringen, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 124). Copious evidence of private consecration will be found in the heroic reliefs, which 'from prehistoric days to the last period of

Greek art maintain their connexion with the dead' (Rouse, 36). (For the details, see Deneken; in Roscher, i. 2536 ff.; Rouse, 19 ff.; Eitrem, 1142; J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, 313.) In Boeotia and Thessaly the word 'hero' was used from an early date as a customary epithet of the dead (*ἥρωας χηρστέ, χαιρε* [Roscher, i. 2549 ff.]), and as such was applied even to children and to slaves. In this connexion may be mentioned the declared intention of Cicero to build a shrine in honour of his daughter (Cic. *Att.* xii. 18). The last phase of hero-worship returns to the point from which it started, the family-worship of the souls of the dead.

Hero-worship was entirely alien to the native religion of Rome (Mommson, *Rom. Hist.* i. 174, Eng. tr. [ed. 1877]); but the fully-developed notion of the hero as a warrior of Homeric epos and as a superhuman or semi-divine being passed over to the Romans as part of the mental equipment which they borrowed in consequence of their contact with Greek civilization. As the Romans had no heroic past of their own, they refurbished their ancient traditions by introducing Greek heroes into Italy, or by assimilating the forms of their native kings to the foreign pattern. The legends of the exposure of Romulus and Remus, of the translation of Romulus, and of his apotheosis, are demonstrably of Greek origin. The story of the assistance given to the Romans by the Dioscuri at the battle of Lake Regillus is exactly typical of the epiphanies of Greek heroes; and it has been shown that the details were transferred directly from a Greek account of the battle at the river Sagras between the Locris and the people of Croton (G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 216). Later poets, of course, spoke of heroes entirely after the Greek manner, as when Horace put Numa and Cato on the same level as Hercules and the Tyndaridae (*Odes*, i. 12), or when Vergil prophesied that the glorious child to be born in Pollio's consulship would join the throng of gods and heroes on equal terms (*Ecl.* iv. 16).

Cf. also artt. **CÆSARISM, GREEK RELIGION, ROMAN RELIGION.**

LITERATURE.—F. Deneken, art. 'Heros,' in Roscher, i. 2441 ff.; S. Eitrem, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 1111 ff.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*,² Tübingen, 1907, i. 146 ff., ii. 348 ff.; P. Stengel, *Die griech. Kultusaltertümer*, Munich, 1908, p. 124 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 323-363, *Themis*, do. 1912, pp. 260-363.

A. C. PEARSON.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Hebrew).—I.

Hebrew heroes.—The record of heroes among the ancient Hebrews, viewed apart from the mythological idea attaching to the second part of the title at the head of this article, must be allowed to have been a particularly great one. The Book of Judges alone, with its long series of heroic struggles under the successive (and partly contemporary) leadership of men of extraordinary daring and valour, is sufficient to attest the presence of a very high degree of the heroic quality among the Israelitish settlers;¹ and the exploits of Saul, Jonathan, and David fitly round off the tale of deadly conflicts which ended in complete victory over the hostile forces on all sides.

In the history that follows these events the more distinctly spiritual type of heroism overshadows—in our view, at any rate, though it may not have appeared so at the time itself—more or less completely the military form of it, the 'hero as prophet' acquiring, and for several centuries retaining, a very high degree of significance both for his own time and for the distant ages to come. The spiritual hero wielded for the most

part his powerful influence independently of the priesthood, or even in antagonism to it; though at times, and very powerfully so in the case of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, prophetic inspiration rested on members of the priestly order. In Ezra, again, we have a hero-priest endowed with special gifts for teaching and the re-organization of the religious life of the nation; and in the latter period of independent Hebrew polity the military successes of the Hasmonæan priest-warriors appeared to revive the heroic glories of the reign of David before the astonished eyes of the Græco-Syrian world around.

The common source of energy of all these different types of heroism lay for the ancient Israelite in the mighty strength of Jahweh. The steady possession or occasional onrush of the Divine spirit was as much required for great military and administrative achievements as for the utterance and action of the psalmist and the prophet (see, e.g., Jg 14^{6, 19}, 15¹⁴ [Samson's case], 3¹⁰ [relating to the judge Othniel, son of Kenaz], 1 S 11⁶ [Saul's first warlike undertaking], 2 S 23² [sacred minstrelsy], Is 11² [the ideal king]); and in special emergencies even the functions of the priest, ceremonial though they were, were invigorated by a special Divine afflatus proceeding from Jahweh, as can be seen from Hag 1⁴, where the high priest Joshua is, equally with the prince Zerubbabel, Divinely stirred up to the performance of his office, and where, indeed, the people generally are said to be similarly affected by the spirit of Jahweh.¹ Heroism in ancient Israel was, therefore, conceived as a direct effluence from Deity acting on the individual human spirit, and it may be readily conceded that Carlyle's great postulate of the 'primal reality of things' as the basis of heroism almost pales into a philosophical abstraction by the side of the intense, personal, and all-compelling manifestation of Divine force which went to the making of a hero among the Hebrews.

2. Traces of mythology.—So far, then, we have historical fact, with which—as may be admitted—a certain amount of mythical and legendary matter has in some cases been combined. Legend and myth, or speculation as to such, in the full sense of the word, first meet us when we set about to answer the question whether, or in what specified instances belonging to the period preceding the conquest of Canaan, the hero was in the mind of the primitive Hebrew identical with one form or another of Deity.

It is first of all to be noted that this part of the subject is very closely connected with the problem of ancestor-worship (see 'Hebrew' art. in vol. i. p. 444 ff.), or may in fact, in one view of it, namely that of the euhemeristic interpretation of myths,² be regarded as a branch of ancestor-worship in its wider sense, the special feature of the 'hero as divinity' consisting in this, that, whilst an ancestor or a ruler may in the course of time attract to himself the worship of men, mainly on account of relationship or exalted official position, the hero can become a god only by virtue of his inherent personal greatness. The case would, on the other hand, look entirely different if an original deity is supposed to have become transformed into a human hero, but it so happens that, in the first mythical record (designated as *a*) which we have to consider,

¹ Even for special degrees of mastery in arts and craftsmanship the indwelling and informing spirit of Jahweh was required; see Ex 28³ 31³.

² No opinion is here, however, intended to be pronounced on the question whether in any given case an originally human hero became a divinity (in accordance with euhemeristic principles), or whether an original deity later on acquired the character of a human hero. In many cases a solution of this problem is, in the present state of our knowledge, probably impossible. Our Biblical mythologists (Winckler, Ed. Meyer, and others), as will be seen later, assume the second alternative.

¹ Even Winckler, whose mythical theories may be said to reach to the farthest possible limit (see under § 2 (*b*)), cannot help admitting an historical basis for the history of the Judges (see *KAT*³, 213-219). Concerning Samson, see note on p. 655^a.

the two aspects of the case appear, in a manner, combined.

(a) The myth in question is contained in Gn 6¹⁻⁴. It is there related that the sons of God (or, rather, 'sons of the gods') took human wives, and that the offspring of these unions were the Nephilim (RvM 'giants'), the same having been 'the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.' The literal meaning of this passage was for a long time naturally distasteful to both Jewish and Christian interpreters. The former (in the Targums, etc.) therefore explained the term 'sons of God' (*bēnē 'ēlōhim*) to mean sons of judges, i.e. the noble and élite of the land, whilst to the latter the narrative referred to intermarriage between the godly men of the line of Seth and the sinful women of the line of Cain. Modern students are, however, undoubtedly right in regarding the passage as a genuine 'torso' of ancient mythology. As Driver puts it (*Westminster Com., in loco*):

'The expression "sons of God" (or "of the gods") denotes elsewhere (Joh 1⁹ 21 337 . . .) semi-divine, supra-mundane beings, such as, when regarded, as is more usually the case, as agents executing a Divine commission, are called *mal'ākīm* or *ḥayyōt* (i.e. "messengers"). And this, which is also the oldest interpretation of Gn 6² (LXX [A] Enoch 6² . . .), is the only sense in which the expression can be legitimately understood here.'

The Nephilim, who are in Nu 13³² identified with the sons of Anak, therefore represented a race of giants¹ who were believed by the Israelites—in common, no doubt, with others—to have been the offspring of gods and human women, thus blending in their persons the character of deity with that of the human hero. As they were not racially connected with the Israelites, the belief in the existence of these hero-gods cannot, of course, serve as a *point d'appui* for interpreting the nature of genuine Hebrew heroes on a similar principle; but the belief must all the same be regarded as a genuine part of the mythological ideas prevalent in Israelitish circles (on Hebrew ideas concerning giants among other nations, see also Dt 2¹⁰⁻¹² 3^{11, 13}).

(b) A mythological theme of a different kind confronts us in the cycle of ideas which several modern writers connect with the Biblical account of the patriarchs and other personages of early Hebrew history.

There are at present in the field three main modes of interpreting the histories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph (to lay special emphasis on these great Biblical figures, without, however, intending to confine ourselves to them absolutely).

(1) They were real persons, and their histories are, in outline at any rate, true. If so, they head the list of the genuine Hebrew heroes of the purely human type, such as lie before us in the history of the conquest of Canaan and later times.² (2) They are historico-genealogical—that is to say, they originally represented, not individuals, but tribes or clans. (3) They are mainly, if not absolutely, to be regarded as mythological figures whose

¹ As the clause stands ('the sons of Anak are some of the Nephilim'), an identification, or rather a genealogical connexion, is clearly intended; but the clause reads like a gloss (see Gray, *ICC, in loco*), and may represent a later genealogical interpretation. The word נפילים apparently means 'long-necked' people, in allusion to their gigantic height; cf. Dt 3¹¹, where the bedstead of Og, king of Bashan, is described, though that king is stated to have belonged to the נפילים, for these are—like the נפילים—in all probability connected either racially or in the manner of descent with the נפילים. The etymology of the terms נפילים and נפילים is, however, very doubtful (see, e.g., F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, Glessen, 1892, p. 64 f.). On the whole subject, see, e.g., art. 'Giant,' in *HDB* ii. 166 f. The term נפילים, which also occurs in Gn 6⁴, indicates mainly physical strength coupled with warlike prowess.

² This view of the original nature of the patriarchs would not be affected by the distinct trace of later apotheosis referred to in *ERE* i. 445, though it must be admitted that the passage of Deutero-Isaiah there referred to (63¹⁹) might possibly relate to an original divinity-myth attaching to Abraham and Jacob.

legends were later on set out in the form of human histories.

Of the mythological interpretation, with which alone we are concerned in this part of the article,¹ two main streams of theory, respectively identified with the names of Hugo Winckler and Eduard Meyer, are to be distinguished.

Winckler (see *Gesch. Israels*, ii. [Leipzig, 1900] 23 and *passim*, *KAT*³, Berlin, 1903, p. 222 and *passim*, *Altorient. Forschungen*, pt. iii. [Leipzig, 1902], pp. 385–470), whose theory is dominated throughout by data drawn from Babylonian mythology, declares Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to represent forms of the moon-god as conceived by the Semitic mind in successive stages of its astral religious contemplation, whilst he interprets Joseph, as also Lot and Esau, as forms of the sun-god. Sarah is identified with the Babylonian Ishtar, and the wives of the other patriarchs are, of course, supposed to be in one way or another the divine counterparts of their husbands. Nor does Winckler's cycle of astral deities terminate with the patriarchs and their associates. Moses is to him the sun in spring-time, and even the lives of Saul, Jonathan, and David are held to embody mythical elements of the same class, though in their case no pronouncement against their historical reality is hazarded.²

Meyer's mythological theory is in form as different as possible from that of Winckler. Rather than seek identifications for the figures of the patriarchs among the Assyro-Babylonian cults, he attempts to establish a connexion between the Biblical account of the hero-ancestors of the Hebrews and sacred localities in Canaan. To him (see *Die Israeliten*, Halle, 1906, p. 249 ff.) Abraham was originally the *numen* of Hebron, or, rather, he was one of the four divinities who had their habitation in that locality, which accordingly also bore the name ארבע ערים, or 'the city of four' (i.e., as Meyer suggests on p. 264, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmi [who are called the offspring of Anak in Nu 13³²], besides Abraham). Naturally associated with him was a deity residing in the near neighbourhood, who was called Sarah, or 'princess.' Isaac, again, is a *numen* connected with Beersheba, whilst the figure of Rebecca has to remain undefined. Jacob, according to E, was as a deity mainly associated with Bethel, whilst in J a locality in Gilead is assigned to him. His wives remain for the most part indefinite. With regard to Joseph, the possibility that a tribal eponym lies before us rather than the legend of a hero-god is left open, special stress being, however, laid on his connexion with Sichem.³

It will thus be seen that, however much Winckler,

¹ It should be noted that the historico-genealogical interpretation of the data is the most in vogue among critics at the present time. Driver, however, who combines clear critical insight with a strong conservative tendency, holds that 'the view which may be said best to satisfy the circumstances of the case' is that 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are historical persons, and that the accounts which we have of them are in outline historically true' (*HDB* ii. 534).

² It should here be noted that Winckler has not only had an interesting immediate predecessor in E. Stucken (*Astralmýthen*, Leipzig, 1896–97), but that Ignaz Goldziher, basing very largely on Aryan parallels, and also employing the Jewish *Aggadah*, produced a rather similar cosmic theory in his *Mythology among the Hebrews* (R. Martineau's tr., London, 1877). Abraham, according to Goldziher's view as then formulated, represents the heaven at night; Sarah is the princess of heaven, i.e. the moon; Isaac ('Laughter') was originally the sun; Jacob ('Follower') is the sky at night, and his family are the moon and the stars, etc.

³ Meyer had originally (in *Gesch. des Alterthums*, Stuttgart, 1884, etc.) strongly advocated a mythological interpretation of the patriarchal history (which was also the view shared by Nöldeke). But the occurrence of the Palestinian place-names generally read Ya'qub-el and Yoseph-el in the List of Thutmosis iii. inclined him in 1886 to the adoption of Stade's view that Jacob and Joseph were originally names of tribes or clans. His reversion to his original mythological theory was largely due to the labours of Bernhard Luther, who collaborated with him in the preparation of *Die Israeliten* (see p. 249 f.).

Meyer, and their respective associates and predecessors may differ as to the special form of the mythological scheme to be adopted, they are in full agreement on the main point: the declaration that the patriarchs were originally divinities, and that the elaboration of their histories as human heroes is a late interpretation of the myths, the order of development being the exact reverse of that which is associated with the name of Euhemerus. The question as to the amount of probability with which the theories are to be credited may be regarded as an open one. A fine destructive criticism of Winckler's view was furnished by K. Budde (see *Das Alte Testament u. die Ausgrabungen*², Giessen, 1903). Cheyne expressed the following opinion (*EBi* ii. 2312): 'That there are somewhat pale mythological elements in some of the biblical narratives may be admitted; but to many minds Winckler's proof of his hypothesis will seem almost too laboured to be convincing.' The following argument (or, perhaps more fairly put, *point d'appui*) used by Winckler in *Altorient. Forschungen*, pt. iii. p. 406, will (though possibly one of the extreme instances) show how deeply steeped the mind must, as a preliminary, be in the astral mythological cycle of ideas in order to admit even a slight degree of probability in favour of his method in interpreting the Biblical text. It is said in Gn 13² that Abraham was very rich אֲבְרָהָם בָּרִיךְ ('in cattle'). Winckler argues that in this Hebrew word we have the root קָרָה=קָרָה, but קָרָה is nothing but an appellation of the *deus summus*, i.e. the moon. The use of אֲבְרָהָם therefore shows that Abraham was originally a moon-god.

Meyer's theory is, of course, quite as much as that of Winckler at variance with the usual critical interpretations of the data. Thus Cheyne, who himself adopts the genealogical scheme of interpretation, pointedly speaks of it as Meyer's 'present view' (see *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, ii. [1907] 414 ff.); and Gunkel (in *Die deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1907, pp. 1925-31), though not specially referring to this part of Meyer's thesis, throws doubt on the correctness of much in his method of interpretation in general. All that can be said at present is that it would be both uncritical and unfair definitely to negative the Palestinian *numen* theory of the patriarchs in its entirety simply because it may appear startling at first sight. Specially to be noted is that for the phrase אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק ('the Fear of his father Isaac') in Gn 31⁵³ (see also v. 42) Meyer adopts (p. 254) the very doubtful explanation which identifies Isaac himself with אֱלֹהֵי (i.e. 'Dread'=divinity). The forms Ya'kub-el and Yoseph-el found in the list of Palestinian place-names belonging to the reign of Thutmosis III. he would take to mean 'Ya'kub, the god' and 'Yoseph, the god' (p. 252), instead of 'El supplanteth' and 'El addeth.'

(e) Under (a) and (b) we considered respectively a myth concerning non-Israelites believed in by the Israelites, and certain mythological speculations regarding traditional Israelitish heroes. We now come to a group of heroes belonging partly to pre-Israelitish times and partly to purely Israelitish tradition. These are, to confine ourselves to leading figures of the highest order, Enoch the son of Jared, Noah, Moses, and Elijah.¹ It was shown in *ERE* i. 441 f. (see also p. 438) that there are, in the case of these spiritual heroes, clear indications of a kind of apotheosis; and it will be sufficient to add in this place that Winckler and Meyer only partially attempt to carry us here beyond the idea of deified or semi-deified ancestral heroes. Winckler, as has been seen (§ 2 (b)), believes Moses to represent

the sun in spring; and Meyer (p. 217) regards Enoch as 'Gott (oder Personifikation) des 365-tägigen Sonnenjahres' (see Gn 5²³; Enoch lived 365 years).¹

LITERATURE.—Besides the works named under the art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Hebrew) in vol. I., and the publications referred to in the body of the present article, the reader may specially consult: F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible*, etc., 3 vols., Paris, 1880-84 (Eng. tr. of vol. I., London, 1883); K. Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, Giessen, 1883; H. Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis* (tr. W. H. Carruth, Chicago, 1901), particularly pp. 119-122; F. Schwally, 'Ueber einige palästin. Völkernamen,' *ZATW* xviii. (1895); Ed. Meyer, 'Der Stamm Jacob u. die 12 Stämme,' *ib.* vi. (1886) 1-16 (expressing, for the time being, agreement with Stade's genealogical theory advocated in i. 112 f.); artt. 'Nephilin,' and on the different patriarchs in *HDB* and *EBE*.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Indian).—In Sanskrit there is no word corresponding to the Greek *ἦρως*, denoting a famous warrior or hero promoted to divine rank and worshipped as the patron of a town, district, gild, etc. But similar ideas, though not well defined and of a much wider application, have always been prevalent in India; they have given rise to the belief in, and the worship of, a great variety of superhuman beings, of whom some are regarded as local patrons, saints, and godlings, while others have attained to the rank of supreme gods.

There is a class of Brāhmanical heroes to be mentioned hereafter, who are duly recognized in the religion of the Brāhmins; but most other Indian heroes seem to have belonged to popular religion, to the undercurrent of the various forms of higher religion acknowledged and sanctioned by the Brāhmins. We therefore find only occasional notices of, or vague allusions to, them by Sanskrit writers. As a rule, those heroes only who had become the subject of a more general or quasi-universal homage are mentioned by the Brāhmins and admitted into their pantheon. In order, therefore, to form an idea of the extent and nature of hero-worship in India, it will be well to advert first to the state of things in modern India. W. Crooke devotes the second chapter of his *Introd. to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (London, 1896) to 'The Heroic and Village Godlings,' whom we may regard as the equivalents of the ancient heroes. Such are Hanuman of the *Rāmāyana*, Bhīma and Bhīṣma of the *Mahābhārata*, and, besides, a great number of local or village godlings of whom Crooke believes 'that most, if not all, belong to the races whom it is convenient to call non-Aryan or aboriginal, or at least outside Brāhmanism, though some of them may have been from time to time promoted into the orthodox pantheon.' In the fourth and fifth chapters ('The Worship of the Sainted Dead' and 'The Worship of the Malevolent Dead,' i. 175 ff., 230 ff.) he describes the class of semi-divine beings who in life had been men—warriors, chiefs, even robbers, or holy men—and after death had become the object of worship. Sir Alfred Lyall,² in his suggestive account of the 'Religion of an Indian Province' (Berar), bears testimony to the deification of famous men after their death. The process can be observed best, though not exclusively, with regard to saints and hermits.

¹ Of the numerous local gods known to have been living men, by far the greater portion derive from the ordinary canonisation of holy personages' (i. 26 f.). 'The number of shrines thus raised in Berar alone to these anchorites and persons deceased in the odour of sanctity is large, and it is constantly increasing' (i. 28). The process of deification he describes as follows. 'But, in India, whatever be the original reason for venerating

¹ Winckler's strikingly drawn parallel between Enoch, the seventh primeval patriarch in Genesis, and Emeduranki, the seventh primeval patriarch of the Babylonian record (see *KAT*³, p. 540 f.), need not necessarily move in the sphere of ancestral heroes rather than that of original gods, though he also refers to the number 365 in Gn 5²³.

² *Asiatic Studies*², 2 vols., London, 1907.

¹ Samson, whose history, as is well known, is held to embody myths of a form of the sun-god, should, however, also be mentioned in this connexion.

a deceased man, his upward course toward deification is the same. At first we have the grave of one whose name, birth-place, and parentage are well known in the district; if he died at home, his family often set up a shrine, instal themselves in possession, and realise a handsome income out of the offerings; they become hereditary keepers of the sanctuary, if the shrine prospers and its virtues stand test. Or, if the man wandered abroad, settled near some village or sacred spot, became renowned for his austerity or his afflictions, and there died, the neighbours think it great luck to have the tomb of a holy man within their borders, and the landholders administer the shrine by manorial right. In the course of a very few years, as the recollection of the man's personality becomes misty, his origin grows mysterious, his career takes a legendary hue, his birth and death were both supernatural; in the next generation the names of the elder gods get introduced into the story, and so the marvellous tradition works itself into a myth, until nothing but a personal incarnation can account for such a series of prodigies' (i. 29 f.).¹

These references to popular beliefs and religious practices in modern India will enable us to detect the traces of hero-worship in ancient India. That it always existed cannot be doubted. For the most important factor in producing it—the cult of the *manes*—has always formed a part of the Indo-Aryan religion; even after the primitive ideas about the life after death, on which ancestor-worship is based, had been replaced by the tenet of the migration of the soul, which is incompatible with it, the offering of *śrāddha* sacrifices, which are performed in honour of the *manes*, continued to be one of the most sacred duties of the twice-born.² The close connexion between *manes* and heroes is best illustrated by the fact that the words *dis manibus*, occurring on so many Roman tombs, are rendered in Greek inscriptions of the same time *δαίμονι ἡρώων* or *θεοῖς ἡρώων*. Not every ancestor, however, who is habitually worshipped by his descendants may be regarded as a hero in this technical sense of the word, but only such as were believed to have, in their life, achieved great or wonderful deeds. It matters little how this belief

¹ Not only holy men are venerated as gods after their decease, but also criminals, as will be seen from the following note by W. Crooke:

'Deification of robbers and bandits.—A peculiar form of deification in India is that of bandits, who are specially regarded as heroes by the criminal tribes. The Maghahiā Doms of Bihār and the adjoining region worship Gaṇḍak and make pilgrimages to his tomb. According to their traditions, he was hanged for theft a long time ago, and when dying promised to help the Maghahiās in time of trouble. He is worshipped by the whole tribe, and is invoked on all important occasions; but he is pre-eminently the god of theft, and a successful raid is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honour (Crooke, *TC*, 1896, ii. 326). Of the same class is Sālhes, who is worshipped by the Dusādhs (*q.v.*), a caste in Bihār and the neighbouring districts, whose profession is stealing and acting as village watchmen, preferably the former. Sālhes, they say, was the first watchman and a noted bandit, in whose honour a popular epic is chanted in Bihār (Gricerson, *JASL*, pt. I. [1882] p. 3 ff.). The Dusādhs of Bihār also worship Gauraiā or Goraiā, another bandit chief of this tribe, whose shrine is at Sherpur, near Patna, to which members of all castes resort. The higher castes make offerings of meal, the lower sacrifice pigs and pour oblations of spirits on the ground. The cultus of this deity is, however, in a state of transition, because this low-caste rohher is now identified with the potter of Bhimsen, who is quite a respectable minor god, already occupying a niche in the Hindu pantheon. Doubtless before long both Sālhes and Gauraiā will be accepted as manifestations of one or other of the Hindu gods (Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 256; Buchanan, in Martin, *Eastern India*, London, 1838, i. 192). The Banjāra (*q.v.*) tribe of carriers and sutlers, again, have a similar deity, the freebooter Miṭṭhu Bhūkhīya. In every camp there is a hut set apart and devoted to him. No one may eat, drink, or sleep in this hut, which is distinguished by a white flag. When a criminal expedition is arranged, the members of the gang meet at night in this hut, and an image of the tribal Sati is produced. A wick soaked in hutter is placed in a saucer and lighted, and an appeal is made to it for a favourable omen, the worshippers mentioning the direction and object of the proposed expedition. If the wick should drop, it is regarded as a favourable omen. The worshippers immediately rise, make obeisance to the flag, and start then and there on the business which has been arranged. After the plunder has been secured, a share is set aside for the deity. Cooked food, spirits, and incense are taken to his hut, the liquor is poured at the foot of the flagstaff, the incense is burnt on the altar, and the food left in the hut. The tribal priest makes an obeisance, and all assembled thank Miṭṭhu Bhūkhīya for accepting the offering (Cumherledge, *NINQ* iv. [1894] 173 ff.).

² J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 153 f.

was brought about: by tradition, by superstition, or by fiction; whether the renown of the hero lived in the traditions of chroniclers and genealogists, in the talk of the people, in tales and legends, in the song of the bard, or in epic poetry. If the fame of a great person, historical or imaginary, is once firmly established, he is likely to become invested with a semi-divine character and to command the homage of the many. This quasi-religious veneration felt for great men of the past, though not part of the religion of the Brāhmins as taught in their books, was none the less generally acknowledged. The Sanskrit name for it is *bhakti*, a word which denotes all degrees of veneration from respectful love to the devotion of the worshipper. The feeling of *bhakti* is deeply rooted in the Indian mind, so much so that it has left traces in the structure of the language. Pāṇini (iv. 3, 95) teaches how words are formed to denote that a person or thing to whose name certain affixes are applied is the object of *bhakti*, love, or veneration, as the case may be. Thus from *sūtra* 98 we learn that the worshippers of Vāsudeva (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) and Arjuna were called Vāsudevaka and Arjunaka, and *sūtra* 99 teaches the formation of the names of those who venerate a man with a *gotra*-name or a Kṣatriya. We thus see that already at the time of Pāṇini, in the 4th cent. B.C. or earlier, hero-worship was a wide-spread custom. We have no detailed knowledge of the form which this worship assumed; all that can be reasonably asserted is that the places sacred to the memory of heroes were included in the great number of *tīrthas*, *i.e.* places of pilgrimage. To visit such places (*tīrthayātrā*) and to worship at them was considered very meritorious.¹ The Tīrthayātrā-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 80–90) enumerates a great many *tīrthas*, especially in Gangetic India; the epic, of course, would mention only *tīrthas* of great fame. Some of them are dedicated to renowned *ṛṣis*, but the names of many suggest that they belonged originally to less famous saints or local celebrities, and only later on had divine myths or legends of *ṛṣis* attached to them. By the natural tendency to increase the sanctity of a *tīrtha* it came about that in the exceedingly numerous *Mahātmyas*, or descriptions of holy places, which are being fabricated up to our days and usually pretend to be parts of *Purāṇas*, many insipid myths of gods and incarnations are told, but few records are preserved of the humbler hero who may originally have been worshipped in that place.

We shall divide what may be called Indian heroes into two classes: ancestral heroes, and epic heroes. This division, however, is not strictly correct; for the characteristics of one class are frequently present also in members of the other; *e.g.*, many ancestral heroes have become the subject of epic poetry, and are, therefore, also epic heroes in a wider sense.

1. Ancestral heroes may be called the founders of families (*gentes*), of clans, and of dynasties. Now the Indian *gentes*, especially those of the Brāhmins, are called *gotra* (*q.v.*). Max Müller² says:

'All Brāhmanic families who keep the sacred fires are supposed to descend from the Seven Ṛṣis. These are: Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Atri, Agastī. The real ancestors, however, are eight in number: Jamadagni, Gautama and Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Atri, Agastya. The eight Gotras, which descend from these Ṛṣis, are again subdivided into forty-nine Gotras, and these forty-nine Gotras branch off into a still larger number of Gotras. . . . A Brāhman who keeps the sacrificial fire is obliged by law to know to which of the forty-nine Gotras his own family belongs, and in consecrating his own fire he must invoke the ancestors who founded the Gotra to which he belongs.'

These *ṛṣis*, then, are the *ἡρώες ἐπώνυμοι* of the Brāhmanical *gentes*, and as such they receive a

¹ *Mahābhārata*, iii. 82.

² *Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1859, p. 379 f.

kind of worship in prescribed forms. It may be added that some of them, especially those whom Max Müller calls the real ancestors, are the subject of legends related in the epics and *Purāṇas*, while about many tradition is silent except in so far as they are regarded as the authors of the hymns of the *Rigveda*. Not only the Brāhmins but also the Kṣatriyas¹ and Vaiśyas seem to have had, in ancient times, *gotras* of their own, some of which at least were identical in name with those of the Brāhmins. But we know practically nothing about them; they seem in the early centuries of our era to have fallen into disuse, probably because the Kṣatriyas were split into a great many clans, and the Vaiśyas into an ever-increasing number of castes, and these divisions acquired a greater importance than the old-fashioned *gotras*.²

We pass now to such ancestral heroes as are regarded as the founders of clans and dynasties. The dynasties of ancient India belong either to the Solar race (Sūrya-vaiṣṇa) or the Lunar race (Soma-vaiṣṇa). Both races go back to Manu, the son of the Sun (Vivasvat), but with this difference, that the solar race contains the descendants of Manu's sons, the lunar race those of his daughter Ilā and Budha, the son of Soma, the Moon. In this way it is explained that the Sun (Vivasvat) and the Moon (Soma) are the progenitors of the solar and lunar races respectively, while to either belongs Manu, the father and eponymous hero of mankind. The nine sons of Manu, Ikṣvāku, etc.³ are said to have founded as many branches of the solar race, and must, therefore, be regarded as their ancestral heroes. But these genealogical traditions seem to have been fixed at a time when they were already on the point of dying out; for there is some confusion even about the number and the names of these ancestors. It deserves, however, to be mentioned that one of them, Nābhānediṣṭha (who is also reckoned as two, Nābhāga and Nediṣṭha, or is called Nediṣṭha the son of Nābhāga), became a Vaiśya, and another, Pṛṣadhra, became a Śūdra, and a third one, Karūṣa, founded a warrior tribe called after him. In the lunar line the first king was Purūravas, whose amours with the nymph Urvāṣi have been celebrated in the *Vedas*, the epic, and Kālidāsa's famous play. His third successor, Yayāti, had five sons, Yādu, Turvaśu, Druhyu, Anu, and Puru, the ancestors of as many clans or dynasties, of which the Yādavas and Pauravas were the most conspicuous. In the line of Puru was born Bharata, the ancestral hero of the race of the Bhāratas, from whom India got its Purāṇic name Bhārata Varṣa. In his line rose Kuru, the ancestor of the Kauravas, the cousins and foes, of the Pāudavas, whose internecine war is the subject of the *Mahābhārata*. The line of the Yādavas contains also such branches as the Vṛṣṇis, Andhakas, Sattvatas, Madhus, Krathas, and Kaiśikas, named after their founders.⁴ These instances, which might easily be multiplied, may suffice to show that the ancient history of India, of which the epics and the *Purāṇas* have preserved only fabulous and distorted records, abounds with ancestral heroes. Some of them may have been historical persons, but many have probably been invented and set up by bards and genealogists in order to account for the origin of a clan or a line of rulers whom they served. Such a process of hero-making is, of course, not confined to ancient times; it was going on also in

medieval India, as will be seen from the following instances. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas descended from a prince of that name, the son of Raṭṭa, who belonged to the Sātyaki branch of the Yādavas.¹ The Chālukyas derived their origin from a hero sprung from the *chuluka*, or water-vessel, of Brahmā. 'From him descended the Chālukyas, a race of heroes, among whom Hārīta is reckoned as first progenitor, and Mānavya arose who humbled the kings of the earth.'² Paramāra, the eponymous hero of the Paramāra race of Kṣatriyas, issued from the sacrificial fire of Vasiṣṭha on Mount Arbuda.³ According to modern tradition, the races or medieval regnal houses of the Chālukyas, Chāhamānas, Pratihāras, and Paramāras are the four *agnikulās* which originated from the *agni-kunḍa* on Mount Abu. Prominent rulers have arisen in these races who have in their turn been acknowledged as heroes by their clans and become the subjects of the homage of their descendants.

Another class of ancestral heroes which was very numerous and important in Greece, the founders of cities and patrons of districts, is not absent in India; but it is of little importance. Most famous towns, according to popular opinion, are of a fabulous antiquity; witness the legends of the Buddhists and the Jains. These relate events which are believed to have occurred many millions (even oceans) of years ago, and yet lay the scene in countries and towns that flourished in historical times. Yet some legends about the founding of towns are met with in the epics and *Purāṇas*. According to *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 32, the four brothers Kuśāmba, Kuśānābha, Asūrtarajas, and Vasu founded the towns Kauśāmbi, Mahodaya (Kānyakubja), Dharmāraṇya, and Girivraja; Viśāla, son of Ikṣvāku, founded Viśālā (i. 47); Satrugna, Madhupurī, or Madhurā (Mathurā) (vii. 70); Bharata's sons Takṣa and Puṣkala, Takṣilā and Puṣkalavati; Lakṣmaṇa's sons Aṅgada and Chandraketu, Aṅgadiya and Chandrakāntā (vii. 102); Rṣabha became the second founder of Ayodhyā, after it had been deserted on the death of Rāma (vii. 111), etc. These epic notices about founders of towns, whether they be records of popular traditions or inventions of the poet, prove at least that this kind of hero was known in India, and we may assume that as local heroes they got their share of *bhakti* in one form or another.

2. We now come to the epic heroes, i.e. those personages described in the epics whom popular admiration and veneration have promoted to a superhuman or semi-divine rank. Epic poetry seems to remove from the everyday sphere all persons and things that make part of the narrative, and to invest them with an exalted character. Every beginner in Sanskrit remembers how, in the opening of the story of Nala, Indra inquires after the warriors and kings who used to visit him as his dear guests, which at that time stayed away on account of Nala's *svayamvara*. Thus, the principal persons of the epics have a tendency to become heroes in the technical sense of the word, and, once having entered upon their upward career, they may end with being regarded as gods. The most instructive instance is the hero of the oldest epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the original parts of that work (viz. books ii.-vi.) Rāma is still a human hero, the best of men, the supreme model of morality and loyalty; notwithstanding his association with superhuman beings, the monkeys, and his fight with, and victory over, the demons (Rākṣasas), he remains essentially a man. But in the first and last books, which are decidedly later in origin and of a different

¹ J. F. Fleet, 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,' p. 277 f. notes (BG, General chapters, 1895).

² It may, however, be mentioned that the Jain writer Hari-bhadra (9th cent. A.D.) speaks of the *gotra* of the Śrāvakas, most of whom certainly did not belong to the caste of the Brāhmins (*Dharmabindu* [Bibl. Ind.] i. 15, and the remarks of the commentator Muṇichandra on that passage).

³ *Vīṇu Purāṇa*, tr. Wilson, London, 1864-70, iii. 231 f., and 13.

⁴ J. Dowson, *Class. Dict. of Hindu Myth.* etc.⁴, London, 1903, p. 691.

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Early History of the Dekkan,' in BG, vol. i. pt. ii. (1895) p. 63.

² *Vikramādhikādevacharita*, ed. Bühler, Bombay, 1875, Introduction, p. 26 (Bombay Skr. Ser.).

³ *Navasāhasākhacarita*, xi. 64 ff. (ib.).

(*Purāṇa*-like) character, the authors regard him already as a god—an incarnation of Viṣṇu.¹ As such he has been adored ever afterwards down to the present day. The case is somewhat different with regard to Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The authors of these works frequently declare him to be a supreme god, an incarnation of Viṣṇu; yet in most of his adventures, from his killing of his uncle Kāṁsa down to his death by the arrow of the hunter Jara (Old Age), we seem to recognize the miraculous records of a tribal chief who had come to be worshipped as a true hero by the members of his clan. But he seems early to have been combined or identified with a cowherd-god, Govinda, 'the cow-finder,'² and this coalescence with a deity probably brought about the deification of Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. He became one of the most popular gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are the epic heroes who have reached the highest possible rank; others have become minor deities, e.g. Hanuman, and some true epic heroes of human standing, e.g. Bhīṣma. But at the time when such heroes were celebrated in epic songs they had already, as it were, accomplished a part of their career. Some may always have been regarded as men who were the centres of an ever-increasing epic cycle; others, however, may once have been popular gods who were losing their rank somehow, and therefore were represented by the poets only as superior men; e.g., Arjuna seems to retain some marks of an originally divine nature; he is intimately connected with Indra, his father, in whose heaven he lives for five years, and he vanquishes the Asuras (Nivātakavachas, Paulomas, Kālakañjas); Pāṇini, iv. 3, 98, mentions his worshippers along with those of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa). Karna, the son of the Sun-god, is born with the mail-coat and the earrings of that god, of which he is cheated by Indra. Bhīma, who is now worshipped as a hero in the whole of India, betrays, in the great epic, many traits of a demonic (Rākṣasa) nature: his association with Rākṣasas, his ravenous appetite (Vṛkodara), and his ferocity (he tears off the arm and drinks the blood from the breast of Duṣśasana). The heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā, is described in the old parts of that work only as the loving spouse of Rāma; but, as her name, which denotes 'furrow' and 'agriculture,'³ her origin from, and her return to, the interior of the earth, indicate, she was originally a chthonic deity. The present writer is also inclined to believe that Hanuman was a godling before Vālmiki sang of his friendship with Rāma, whereby he came to be recognized as a popular deity throughout India. We thus see that epic heroes may be men, historical or fictitious, on promotion; or, on the other hand, they may be gods and divine beings on the decline.

Now, as regards the epic heroes who actually were worshipped, besides Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, and Hanuman, Kṛṣṇa, Baladeva, etc., who are generally acknowledged gods of the Hindu pantheon, we must chiefly rely on the testimony of

modern popular religion and folklore. They seem to form a class of superhuman beings who are known as the *chirajivins*, i.e. the long-living or immortal ones. A *versus memorialis* in Sanskrit¹ enumerates seven *chirajivins*: Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanuman, Vibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa, and Paraśurāma; a quotation in the *Śabda Kalpa Druma*² adds an eighth—Mārkaṇḍeya. The belief in *chirajivins* can, however, be traced back to comparatively early times. In the 108th *sarga* of the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma commands that Hanuman and Vibhīṣaṇa should live as long as the *Rāmāyaṇa* shall exist; verse 33 adds Jāmbavat, Mainda, and Dvidiva, and says that they will live 'till the Kali comes.' The commentator says that Hanuman and Vibhīṣaṇa will live till the destruction of the world, but Jāmbavat, Mainda, and Dvidiva³ will die during the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. It is, therefore, probable that the class of heroes continuing to live and removed to a higher sphere was originally more numerous than the verse alluded to above would make us believe.

Besides these never-dying heroes there probably were a great many others who were believed to have died, yet still received some kind of homage, though in most cases we have no accurate information about them. On the evidence of modern folklore, we may safely reckon among them Bhīṣma and the five Pāṇḍavas, especially Bhīma, who seems to have been a favourite of the people in many parts of India.

3. In modern India there is a third class of heroes—the departed saints and ascetics. There can be no doubt that there were such in ancient India also; but, being of local importance only, they did not find their way into general literature, and were ousted, as it were, by the great *ṛṣis*. Those, however, who might be included in this class have been treated of above among the ancestral heroes.

LITERATURE.—The necessary references have been given in the article itself. It may be mentioned that the subject has not been treated before.

HERMANN JACOBI.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Iranian).—In the conventional sense of the word, the Iranians possessed many heroes of whom more or less legendary tales were told; and several passages of the Avesta—notably *Yasna* ix., and *Yasts* v., xiii., xix.—record traditions of a number of them, such as Vivalhvant, Yima, Athwya, Thrita, Urvāxša, Keresāspa, Haošyanha, Thraētaona, Usan, Haosravah, Tusa, Paurva, Jāmāspa, Ašavazdah, Vistarū, Yoista, Vištāspa, Zairi-vairi, Urupi, Kavāta, Aipivanhu, Usadhan, Aršan, Pisinah, Byaršan, and Syāvaršan; and these heroic figures, with others, recur throughout Pahlavi literature and in the *Sāh-nāmāh* of Firdausi.

Of heroes in the technical sense, however, Zoroastrianism knows nothing, though in that religion marked traces of ancestor-worship exist (see artt. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD [Iranian]; FRAVAŠI). In all Zoroastrian literature the nearest approach to anything in the least suggestive of a hero-cult is *Yast* xiii. 17.

'They, the *fravashis* of the righteous, give most help in battle fierce; the *fravashis* of the righteous are most mighty, Spitama [Zarathustra], those of the first teachers of the faith, or those of men unborn, of the Saeōyants, the preparers [of the world for the final restoration]; but the *fravashis* of other living righteous men are more mighty, Spitama Zarathustra, than [those] of the dead.'

Old Persian literature is silent on the subject of heroes, but in Greek references to the Persians we find what seem at first blush to be allusions to these apotheosized men of renown. On arriving at Pergamum, on the river Scamander, Xerxes

¹ Quoted in *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, Supplement, p. 54, note.

² Böhtlingk-Roth, *Slr. Wörterb.*, St. Petersburg, 1855-75, s.v. 'Chirajivin.'

³ Mainda and Dvidiva are also two demons killed by Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva.

¹ In an inserted passage of the sixth book, vi. 170, Rāma is still ignorant of his divine character, and Brāhmā is introduced to explain the identity of Rāma with Nārāyaṇa. It may be mentioned that the Jains, both Svetāmbaras and Digambaras, possess a very old version of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fabricated with a strong sectarian bias. In this Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* (Padmacarita and Padmapurāṇa), Rāma is frequently called Nārāyaṇa; but his most common name is Padmanābha (abbreviated into Padma), a synonym of Viṣṇu.

² According to Kātyāyana (Pāṇini, iii. 1, 138, *vārttika* 2), Weber's explanation of *govinda* as the Prakrit for *gopendra* is scarcely admissible, for the supposed change of *p* to *v* belongs to a more advanced state of the Prakrit language than may be assumed for the Prakrit at the time of Kātyāyana.

³ Sītā has this meaning in the title of an official in the king's service—*sītādhyakṣa*, 'superintendent of agriculture' (*Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, ii. 24).

'sacrificed a thousand kine¹ to Ilian Athene, and the magi poured libations to the heroes' (χοάς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο [Herod. vii. 43]). Furthermore, Xenophon makes Cyrus the Great offer prayer 'to the gods and heroes who occupy the Persian land' (θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν [Cyrus. II. i. 1; cf., however, the simple θεοῖς τοῖς Μηδῶν γῆν κατέχουσιν immediately following]), 'to the heroes who inhabit and protect the land of Media' (ἥρωας γῆς Μηδίας οἰκήτορας καὶ κηδεύοντας [ib. III. iii. 21]), to 'the gods and heroes of Assyria' (ib. § 22), and 'to the heroes who hold Syria' (ἥρωσι τοῖς Συρίαν ἔχουσι [ib. VIII. iii. 24]). Yet, side by side with Xenophon's reference to 'the gods and heroes who occupy the Persian land,' Herodotus (vii. 53) makes Xerxes pray simply 'to the gods who guard the Persian land' (τοῖσι θεοῖσι τοὶ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασιν). A. Rapp had, therefore, good reason to declare (ZDMG xix. [1865] 66 f.) that the Greeks, in their references to the Persians, used ἥρωας and θεοί synonymously; and in this connexion it is noteworthy that Strabo (p. 733) says that 'the deeds of the gods and of the noblest men' (ἔργα θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων) were imparted in the course of instruction, the omission of all allusion to heroes being at least curious if their cult was of any importance.

There is, however, a possible identification of these 'heroes' of Persia and of other countries, for the Greek accounts seem to be in general more accurate than is often supposed. It would appear that the 'heroes' in question are none other than the *fravashis*, who not merely guarded the house, village, district, etc., but were also 'for the protection of the Aryan lands' (*thrātrāi airyanām dahyunām* [Yast xiii. 43]), and, indeed, 'of all lands' (*vispanām dahyunām* [ib. § 21; cf. *Yasna* xxiii. 1]). It is possible that there may have been a hero-cult in ancient Iran at a very early period; but, if there was, it had been merged in the worship of the *fravashis* before the date of our oldest records concerning the Iranian race; and all traces of it, if it ever existed, have long since vanished.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Japanese).—The essential basis of Shintō was a primitive Naturism, from which Animism was gradually developed. Just as the ancient Japanese used to worship the forces of Nature, so they bowed before human powers. Out of the admiration which they felt for certain visible and living men grew the more abstract worship of the same men after their death. The deification of heroes began, then, in the adoration of famous living men—a form of worship which constitutes a sort of transition between Naturism and Animism, and which is the tangible germ of all after-development.

In order to understand this basis aright, we have only to remember that, in the conception of the Japanese, as, indeed, of many other peoples, a god is not, as he is to our modern ideas, a being immeasurably above and beyond humanity, but simply, as the word *kami* indicates, a 'superior' being. Between a powerful man and a god there is a difference only of degree, and a great man may easily become a minor god. We find a confirmation of this, in historical times, in the divine honours paid to the Emperor—an evident survival of a wider deification.

Originally all men of note who were above the ordinary level seem to have been worshipped. The first objects of this adoration were the ancient chiefs or independent kings, of whom we are continually reminded, even after the triumph of

Imperialism, by the 8th-cent. annals (see *Kojiki*, 167 ff., 173, 185, 189, etc.). The Emperor himself is often required, and consents, to worship local gods, who are the souls of ancient chiefs (ib. 179, 215, etc.); and the honour thus paid to the shades of departed chiefs, like that given to Imperial ancestors, leads us to think that these chiefs must have been worshipped in their lifetime, just as the Emperor himself was. Besides, mythology is full of descriptions of wars between 'gods,' who were, without doubt, human chiefs (ib. 167, 178, 260 f., 264, etc.). The worship of the Emperor was only the synthesis of the cults of these local chiefs, just as the Imperial power finally united in its own person all the separate local powers which had formerly existed.

The next in order are the sorcerers, who were originally, before the division of social work, often identified with the chiefs themselves; thus, on the day of his accession to the throne, we find Jimmu, the first legendary Emperor, instructing one of his followers in the magic formulae (*Nihongi*, i. 133). These sorcerers, when they accomplished anything which seemed particularly wonderful to their neighbours, were naturally the object of an admiration which finally merged into worship, continuing at first during their lifetime, and, later, even after their death. Just as the adoration of powerful chiefs was an instinctive homage paid by weakness to superior force, so the worship of a 'medicine-man,' famous for his miraculous gifts, is the natural homage paid by ignorance to superior intelligence. The Japanese gods are magicians (see *Kojiki*, 83 ff., 149 ff., etc.), and it may readily be conceived how, on the other hand, magicians may easily turn into gods. Thus, even to-day, by a titular survival of these ancient beliefs, the high-priest of Kizuki, in Idzumo, is called *iki-gami* ('living god').

In the same connexion we must mention also the inventors of arts, the importers of useful articles, and all the great benefactors whose intelligence or skill arouses gratitude and demands respect. In Shintō mythology, we find first of all the worship of the group of illustrious gods, who, under the direction of Omohi-kane, the god of cunning, invented the principal arts, beginning with the art of the blacksmith, whom the primitive people were most willing to consider as a veritable magician (*Kojiki*, 63-65). Then come the gods Oho-kuni-uishi, a powerful chief, and Sukuna-biko-na, a dwarf-wizard, who not only completed the material construction of the country, begun by the Creator-Pair, but also taught men magic and medicine (see *Nihongi*, i. 59); then the great god Susa-no-wo, who had already gained fame, in a well-known myth, by delivering a young princess from the monster-serpent of Koshi, which was about to devour her, and who also, with the help of his son Itakeru, the 'deserving god' (*isaoshi no kami*), created, by tearing and dispersing the hairs of his body, the cedars and camphor-trees for the construction of ships, the thuyas for the building of palaces, the podocarps for the manufacture of coffins, while at the same time he sowed and caused to grow all kinds of fruit for the nourishment of human beings (*Nihongi*, i. 58). Along with these gods appears another beneficent being, Mi-wi-no-Kami, who sank wells in several parts of the country (*Kojiki*, 88).

All these gods, who were at the same time magicians and inventors, were without doubt originally real personages, whose fame was only increased by legend. So, Sukuna-biko-na, the mysterious dwarf who is depicted as arriving on the crest of the waves in a tiny boat made out of a berry in the form of a long gourd, and dressed in the skin of a bird, and who, after having done

¹ The sacrifice of a thousand kine (together with a hundred stallions and ten thousand sheep) has a genuinely Iranian ring; cf., for example, *Yast* v. 21, 25, etc., ix. 3, 8, etc.

wonderful deeds, disappears by climbing up a stalk of millet, from which he is carried away to another world, no doubt finds his prototype in the miraculous visit of some strange sorcerer (see *Kojiki*, 103; *Nihongi*, i. 59 f.). Strangers, indeed, were often considered as beings of superior nature; the god who imported plants, Itakeru, seems to have belonged to Korea (see *Nihongi*, i. 58), and here and there we find traces of the worship of other Korean 'divinities' (*Nihongi*, i. 11, 169, 225, 378).

Finally it may be said in a general way that, just as the natives, crushed by the conquerors, are deified under the general name of 'evil gods,' 'demons,' or 'savage gods' (*Kojiki*, 167, 178, etc.; *Nihongi*, i. 198, 202 f., etc.), so the conquering race as a whole also invests itself with divinity, and, claiming descent from Heaven (*Kojiki*, 72, 112-135, etc.; *Nihongi*, i. 110 f., 123), proclaims itself as the only true race of gods.

All these elements—the power of the political chiefs, the magic of the sorcerers, the skill of the inventors, the quarrels between tribes—intermingle and end in one central cult which is at once the result and the proof of its manifold origin. The Emperor, having become both the undisputed master and the high-priest of the nation (*matsuri-goto*, 'government,' comes from *matsuri*, 'cult'), and being considered as the direct descendant of the most illustrious gods—from the goddess of the Sun downwards—ends by being the supreme personification of all the glories of the State. He is regarded as the only 'incarnate god' (*ara-hito-gami*, or *ara-mi-kami* [*Nihongi*, ii. 198, 217, etc.]); he believes himself to be so, and assumes this title in his own edicts (*ib.* ii. 210, 226 f., 359). Sometimes, even in his own lifetime, he has the funeral-mound erected, the immense *misasagi*, where he will continue to be worshipped after his death (*ib.* i. 298 ff.; cf. ii. 178). So much is the Emperor considered all-powerful, that, in the ancient annals, the most famous heroes are always classed, like personages of secondary importance, under the name of the Emperor whose reign they have served to make famous. For example, in the *Kojiki*, the whole legend of Yamato-dake is entitled 'Emperor Keikō,' in spite of the small part played by him, and the entire story of the Empress Jingō, the legendary conqueror of Korea, is called 'Emperor Chuai,' although the exploits of the heroine begin exactly on the death of her husband (*Kojiki*, 248-278, 283-298).

Here we have a proof of the existence of a movement in the evolution of Japanese hero-worship which tends to diminish little by little the importance of individual famous men so as to increase the glory of the Emperor, in whose person all the traditions are united. But at the same time there still exists, and that in a profoundly living form, the worship of true heroes—ancestors who have wrought mighty deeds, and great benefactors, the conquerors of the islands and the civilizers of the country, the monster-killers and inventors, all those eminent men whose memory has been handed down by popular favour, and whose fame occupies an increasingly large place in the heart of new generations.

As a typical example of these deified heroes, we may quote Yamato-dake, 'the Brave of Japan,' the most famous figure of legendary times. This hero, who, according to traditional chronology, lived about A.D. 100, was the third son of the Emperor Keikō. The first of his exploits, while showing his loyal respect for his father and sovereign, is sufficient to indicate the violent character of the mighty deeds which were to make his career famous. He began by assassinating one of his elder brothers, who had omitted to appear at the 'morning-and-evening-great-august-repasts.' The

Emperor, angry at such negligence, had charged Yamato-dake, then a youth of sixteen, to recall his elder brother to a sense of his duties, and five days later, as there had been no appearance of the brother, he asked his youngest son if he had fulfilled his orders. Yamato-dake replied that he had not failed to do so, calmly adding an explanation of how he went about it: 'I grasped hold of him, and crushed him, and, pulling off his branches [*i.e.* limbs], wrapped them in matting and flung them away.' It may be imagined that the Emperor showed himself somewhat 'alarmed at the valour and ferocity of his august child's disposition.' He therefore sent him off at once to the West, to fight against two warriors of the country of Kumaso, who were rebelling against the authority of the Emperor. The manner in which the young prince acquitted himself on this mission will be a sufficient example of the general character of these heroes of primitive Japan, with whom cunning occupies as large a place as courage.

On reaching the house of the Kumaso bravoes, His Augustness Wo-usu [the name given to Yamato-dake as a child] saw that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who had made a cave to dwell in. Hereupon they, noisily discussing a rejoicing for the august cave [a house-warning], were getting food ready. So he sauntered about the neighbourhood, waiting for the day of the rejoicing. Then, when the day of the rejoicing came, having combed down after the manner of girls his august hair which was bound up, and having put on his aunt's [Yamato-hime, the high-priestess of Ise] august upper garment and august skirt, he looked quite like a young girl, and, standing amidst the women [concubines], went inside the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother, the two Kumaso bravoes, delighted at the sight of the maiden, set her between them, and rejoiced exuberantly. So, when the feast was at its height, His Augustness Wo-usu, drawing the sabre from his bosom, and catching the elder bravo of Kumaso by the collar of his garment, thrust the sabre through his chest, whereupon, alarmed at the sight, the younger bravo ran out. But pursuing after and reaching him at the bottom of the steps of the cave, and catching him by the back, Prince Wo-usu thrust the sabre through his buttock. Then the Kumaso bravo spoke, saying: "Do not move the sword; I have something to say." Then His Augustness Wo-usu respited him for a moment, holding him down as he lay prostrate. Hereupon the bravo said: "Who is Thine Augustness?" Then he said: "I am the august child of Oho-tarashi-hiko-oshiro-wake [the governing Lord, the prince perfect and great, primitive name of the Emperor Keikō], the Heavenly Sovereign who, dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimku, rules the Land of the Eight Great Islands; and my name is King Yamato-woguna [the young man of Yamato, another name for the prince]. Hearing that you two fellows, the Kumaso bravoes, were unsubmitive and disrespectful, the Heavenly Sovereign sent me with the command to take and slay you." Then the Kumaso bravo said: "That must be true. There are no persons in the West so brave and strong as we two. Yet in the Land of Great Yamato there is a man braver than we two. Therefore will I offer thee an august name. From this time forward it is right that thou be praised as the August Child [*i.e.* Prince] Yamato-dake [*i.e.* 'Yamato-Brave,' the Bravest in Yamato]." As soon as he had finished saying this, the Prince ripped him up like a ripe melon, and slew him. So thenceforward he was praised by being called by the august name of His Augustness Yamato-dake.

After this exploit, which reminds us of Zeus, in disguise, entering the dwelling of Lycaon, and then killing him and his sons in the midst of a feast, Yamato-dake triumphed, again by cunning, over another enemy, an Idzumo warrior. Yamato-dake, who was armed with a trusty sabre, got his enemy to fight against him with a wooden sabre, which he had cunningly substituted for the weapon of his adversary. That done, he returned to the capital, but very soon his father sent him off to do battle in the East. He set out, and to protect him against the dangers which awaited him, his aunt, the high-priestess, gave him a weapon famous in Japanese mythology, the 'Herb-Quelling-Sabre,' with an 'august bag,' the use of which will be seen later on.

So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamu, the Ruler of the land lied, saying: "In the middle of this moor is a great lagoon, and the Deity that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a very violent Deity." Hereupon Yamato-dake entered the moor to see the Deity. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moor. So, knowing that he had been deceived, he opened the mouth of the bag which his aunt, Her Augustness Yamato-

hime, had bestowed upon him, and saw that inside of it there was a fire-striker. Hereupon he first mowed away the herbage with his august sword, took the fire-striker, and struck out fire, and, kindling a counter-fire, burnt the herbage and drove back the other fire, and returned forth, and killed and destroyed all the rulers of that land, and forthwith set fire to and burnt them.'

This legend, so often depicted by Japanese artists, is followed by another no less famous story:

'When he thence penetrated on, and crossed the sea of Hashiri-mizu [Running-water], the Deity of that crossing raised the waves, tossing the ship so that it could not proceed across. Then Yamato-dake's Empress (*i.e.* his consort), whose name was Her Augustness Princess Ototachibana ["Younger-orange"], said: "I will enter the sea instead of the August Child. The August Child must complete the service on which he has been sent, and take back a report to the Heavenly Sovereign." When she was about to enter the sea, she spread eight thicknesses of sedge rugs, eight thicknesses of skin rugs, and eight thicknesses of silk rugs on top of the waves, and sat down on the top of them. Thereupon the violent waves at once went down, and the august ship was able to proceed. Then the Empress sang, saying: "Ah! thou whom I enquired of, standing in the midst of the flames of the fire burning on the little moor of Sagamu, where the true peak pierces [probably Mount Fuji]." So seven days afterwards the Empress's august comb drifted on to the sea-beach, which comb was forthwith taken and placed in an august mausoleum which was made.'

The heroic devotion of his wife drew from the bereaved prince an exclamation of sorrow which for many centuries echoed through the whole of Japanese poetry—where the name of Azuma, the traditional meaning of which is given below, still stands for Eastern Japan:

'When, having thence penetrated on and subdued all the savage Yemishi [the ancestors of the Ainu, now confined to the island of Yezo, but formerly occupying a large part of the empire], and likewise pacified all the savage Deities of the mountains and rivers, he was returning up to the capital, he, on reaching the foot of the Ashigara Pass [leading to Mount Fuji], was eating his august provisions, when the Deity of the pass, transformed into a white deer, came and stood before him. Then forthwith, on his waiting and striking the deer with a scrap of wild chive [used, in Japanese magic, against evil spirits], the deer was hit in the eye and struck dead. So, mounting to the top of the pass, he sighed three times and spoke, saying: "Azuma ha ya! joh! my wife!" So that land is called by the name of Azuma.'

Yamato-dake, however, soon married another princess, with whom he left the sacred Sabre. Then he set out to make an unarmed attack upon 'a boar as big as a bull' who was the god of Mount Ibuki (a mountain famous on account of this legend, a large part of which disappeared in the earthquake of 1909). But this god led him astray into the mountain and caused heavy hail to fall on him, which paralyzed his limbs and finally caused his death. After a long and wearisome march, interrupted by songs in praise of Yamato, in which he envied the young people who still danced in that land with their crowns of oak-leaves, and welcomed the clouds coming from his native land and mourned for the divine Sabre which might have saved his life, he finally died on the return journey, without having seen the capital again. His wives and children came to look for his body; but it was transformed into a large white *chidori* (plover), which flew away towards the sea. All his relations 'with sobbing song' followed the bird to the spot where it alighted, and there erected a tomb. 'Nevertheless, the bird soared up thence to heaven again, and flew away' (*Kojiki*, 254-275).

It is of importance to note that, in this curious ending to the legend of Yamato-dake, it is not only his soul, as we might imagine at first sight, but also his body, that is transformed into a bird and disappears. According to the corresponding version of the *Nihongi*, the Emperor had his son buried in one of these rock-tombs, surmounted by a vast tumulus, where great men were interred; but Yamato-dake, in the form of a white bird, flew away towards Yamato. 'The ministers accordingly opened the coffin, and, looking in, saw that only the empty clothing remained, and that

there was no corpse' (*Nihongi*, i. 210f.). With this narrative we may compare another, found in the *Nihongi* (i. 297), where a guardian of the Shiratori-no-misasagi, the 'Tomb of the White Bird,' erected to the memory of Yamato-dake, is transformed into a white deer under the eyes of the terrified Emperor—a story which is easily enough explained by the frequent presence of deer and plovers round these ancient tombs. The origin of such a legend, as far as Yamato-dake is concerned, may easily be imagined: some one is mourning over a tomb; suddenly, a bird flies off, and the idea naturally arises that it is the dead man that is escaping. At the same time it may be conceived how such an illusion must have favoured the deification of the hero.

We have laid special emphasis on this legend of Yamato-dake, because he is the most famous of all Japanese heroes. Naturally, after those primitive heroes, of which he is the typical example, other more civilized personages were deified in their turn. For example, Sugahara no Michizane, a famous statesman and man of letters of the 9th cent., was afterwards deified under the name of Tenjin Sama, and is still worshipped, especially in a temple at Kyōto, as the god of wisdom and calligraphy. But it is probable that, if the Chinese cult of Confucius had not here furnished a model, the Japanese would never have thought of attributing to this minister of historical times the magic powers of action on Nature which were one of the causes of his deification. It is then safer, if we wish to confine ourselves to Shintō pure and simple, not to attach too much importance to those apotheoses which follow the introduction of Chinese culture.

Nevertheless, we must note that the normal deification of heroes, particularly of warrior-heroes, continues through the whole course of Japanese history, and that, until recent times, quite a number of personages were the object of a well-defined worship. While the obscure mass of the vulgar dead were regarded as descending to the darkness of the under world, certain heroes were considered as for ever haunting the land of the living, and some of them were even raised to the stars. In 1877, when the famous Saigō Takamori, the chief of the Satsuma insurgents, committed suicide after a crushing defeat, popular imagination raised him to a place in the planet Mars.

LITERATURE.—*Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1906; *Nihongi*, tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896.

MICHEL REVON.

HEROES (Slavic).—The Slavs as well as other nations have preserved the memory of the heroic period of their past and of their prominent national heroes, but the heroic legends were developed in epic songs only by some Slavic tribes. Heroic epic thrived mainly among the Russians, Southern Slavs, and Little Russians.

1. **Russians.**—Russian heroic songs are called *byliny* (derived from the word *byl* = 'the past event'). They began to appear in the 10th-12th centuries, and have been preserved—of course, in a form considerably altered—by oral tradition down to the present day. They were originally composed by professional bards who lived at the courts of princes and wealthy noblemen (*bojari*) and sang the brave exploits of every hero of the prince's suite. From these bards they were received by wandering minstrels (*skomorochi* = *jongleurs*), who considerably modified the contents of the original songs, enlarged them with new *motifs*, and partly composed new songs of a similar character. Through the medium of wandering minstrels these songs penetrated into the very heart of the nation, and popular singers (*skaziteli*) took possession of

them. In the northern regions of Russia, especially in the government of Olonetz, Archangelsk, and in Siberia, Russian national epic has preserved its full vigour and freshness down to the present time. Some of the popular singers are acquainted with about 20 songs, containing in all some 5000 lines. The extant songs are considered as remains of a rich epic repertory which was diffused, many years ago, in the districts of Kieff and Novgorod.

The first collection of Russian epic songs was made by Richard James, an Oxford graduate, who came to Moscow in 1619 with the English embassy and had six epic songs written out for him. The manuscript of them is kept in Oxford, and was reprinted several times in the 19th century. The first collection of Russian heroic songs was published in 1804; it contains those collected by Kiril Danilov in Siberia in the 13th century. Other large collections were published by Pavel Ribnikoff (1861-67, 4 vols.); Petr Kirejevskij (1860-74, 3 vols.); Alexander Gilderding (1873); Tichonravov and V. Miller (1894); A. Markov (1901); and A. Grigorjev (1904-10, 3 vols.).

Russian heroic epic has frequently been the subject of careful study. Among its first investigators there appeared scholars (e.g. Buslajev, Orest Miller) who explained the contents of the songs mythologically according to Grimm's theory. Thinking that their original scheme was mythical, they saw in every hero a representative of pagan, especially solar, gods. Other scholars were influenced by Benfey's theory of the Indian origin of European oral tradition; they derived the Russian heroic songs from Oriental legends and songs, and explained them accordingly. Minute analysis led other scholars to assume that in the heroic songs various subjects, both national and international, were developed; and the aim of their study was to discover separate strata in these songs and to distinguish them as to their origin, place, and time.

The chief representative of this comparative method was Alexander Veselovskij, an excellent authority in the world's literatures; he is the author of the significant saying: 'The national epics of every historical nation is inevitably international.' Comparative studies did much to explain the composition and style of Russian oral epic, but they did not lead to any positive results as to its origin. In recent times, however, this one-sided accumulation of comparative materials, international parallels, and motives has been given up, and the main stress has been laid upon the historical evolution of the songs and upon an investigation of the elements of national culture and history which are deposited in them. This is certainly the only correct standpoint. On this principle the songs have been studied by Vsevolod Miller, Ivan Zdanov, S. Sambinago, A. Loboda, etc., who have already reached more reliable results.

On the ground of its contents, Russian heroic epic may be divided into two principal groups: (a) the cycle of Kieff, (b) the cycle of Novgorod.

(a) *The cycle of Kieff*.—In this are celebrated the heroes who lived at the court of the epic prince Vladimir, who, like king Arthur, was the centre of a heroic suite. The chief figure among these heroes was *Ilja Murometz*, by birth a peasant's son. He remained thirty years at home, being unable to move hand or foot; wandering pilgrims succeeded in curing him and bestowed prodigious powers on him. Ilja joined the court of the prince Vladimir in Kieff; on the way he defeated a great Tatar army and captured the robber Solovej, who had his seat upon seven oaks grown together. In the service of Vladimir, Ilja performed feats of bravery in his fights with the Tatars, and gained the renown of an invincible hero. The historical Ilja Murometz probably lived in the 12th cent. and became famous by his heroic deeds; he is mentioned also in Germanic sagas (in the 13th cent.).

Popular singers adorned him with all the qualities of an ideal hero of Russia, and connected with him various mythological and fabulous legends.

Another prominent hero of Vladimir's suite was *Dobrynja Nikitič*. He rendered himself illustrious mainly by killing a terrible seven-headed dragon which devastated the Russian country. The well-known legendary *motif* of a dragon-killer was transferred to Dobrynja, who lived in the 10th cent., and is called the uncle of the prince Vladimir.

Aleša Popovič is mentioned as a comrade of Dobrynja. The songs particularly celebrate his victories over the enormous giant Tugarin, in whose name is preserved the memory of the Khan of Polovci, Tugorkan, who devastated the Russian country in the 11th cent., and was killed in a combat. The historical Aleša Popovič was not born till about the beginning of the 13th cent., but the popular singers praised him as the real victor over Tugorkan.

In the service of the prince Vladimir, *Dunaj Ivanovič*, *Suchman*, *Saur Vanidovič*, etc., are mentioned as famous heroes. Foreign heroes also would come to Kieff to pay their compliments to the prince Vladimir and to make acquaintance with his brave suite. To their number belong: *Curila Plenkovič*, boasting of luxury and riches, *Djuk Stefanovič*, *Solovej Budimirovič*, and others.

(b) *The cycle of Novgorod* differs from that of Kieff in that the persons celebrated in these songs are not knights, but sons of rich merchants. The great Novgorod, an important commercial centre of the Hanseatic league in the 12th cent., was famed for the luxury and wealth which it had attained owing to its wide-spread commerce. The city had a republican constitution, and the foremost municipal posts were occupied by the nobility and the rich merchants. Quarrels occasionally arose between the two, which form topics of some of the songs. There are also descriptions of other scenes from public life, e.g. family disputes, love adventures, robberies of brides. The principal heroes are: *Vasilij Buslajevič*; *Sadko*, a rich merchant; *Stavr Godinovič*; *Ivan*, a merchant's son.

A separate group is formed by the songs which deal with fabulous and legendary subjects. For example, the song about *Ivan Godinovič* is an expansion of the fabulous theme of an unfaithful wife; the songs on *Potyk Ivanovič* and *Kasjan Michajlovič* have a similar subject. The song about *Vanka*, a widow's son, is based upon the story of a princess who will marry only the man who manages to hide from her, etc.

The Russian heroic songs are penetrated with those deep religious and moral ideas which characterize the Russian people; but in some cases the symbols used are still unexplained. The renowned figure of the Russian epic is *Svjatogor*, a huge giant, whose head touched the clouds, and who had such extraordinary strength that he could set the whole world in motion. When crossing the steppe, he saw lying in front of him a little bag, filled with earth, and was about to lift it up; but the bag was so heavy that Svjatogor broke through the ground and perished. As is explained in another variant of this song, what was hidden in the bag was the terrestrial gravity. By this poetic symbol the sway of the earth over mortal man is beautifully illustrated. The songs about *Voleh Svatoslavovič* and *Mikula Seljaninovič* have also symbolical meanings. *Voleh*, the hero of the Vladimir group, well instructed in all knowledge and wisdom, noticed the ploughman, Mikula Seljaninovič, at work in a field, and conceived the notion of tearing his plough from the earth; he tried to do so, but failed. Then Mikula with one hand seized the plough, lifted it up easily, and threw it aside. The simple ploughman, the representative

of agriculture, triumphs over the knowledge and wisdom of the representative of military and princely power.

The typical figure of Russian epic is *Ilja Murometz*, in whom the people have incorporated their ideal of a national hero, democrat, and altruist. Born in a peasant family, Ilja remained all his life a man of simple customs, upright character, and noble mind. Although first among the heroes as regards power and fortitude, he did not become proud of the glory he had gained, and never boasted of his deeds. He considered it his first duty to protect the oppressed, and to fight for his creed, people, and country against the enemies who ravaged Russia. At the same time, he was pious, and fully trusted in the help of God. Deep moral meanings attach to the songs about the three expeditions he undertook before his death. Towards the end of his life, Ilja happened to encounter a stone where three roads divided. On the stone was written: 'Who goes the first road will be killed; who takes the second will marry; who enters the third will become rich.' Ilja chose the first road, and, having come to some high mountains, he met with robbers, who tried to kill him. Ilja took an arrow and shot it at an oak-tree with such force that it split to pieces. The robbers, terribly afraid, fell from their horses. Then Ilja returned again to the stone and set out along the second road. He came to a magnificent palace, where a beautiful queen lived. Ilja did not allow her beauty to seduce him, and put her in chains. He set free the knights whom the cunning queen kept imprisoned in her palace, and distributed amongst them all the wealth that he had found in the palace. He returned once more to the stone and took the third road, where he found huge treasures of gold, silver, and pearls. Out of this treasure he ordered churches and monasteries to be built, and did not take anything for himself. During the building, Ilja was carried over by the invisible power of an angel into the monastery of Pečersk, near Kieff, where he breathed out his soul. It is surely impossible to imagine a more beautiful apotheosis than that with which the Russians have celebrated their well-beloved popular hero.

2. Southern Slavs.—Popular epic flourished richly among the Southern Slavs (Serbs, Croats, and Bulgarians). When, at the beginning of the 19th cent., the first collections of their songs appeared, they aroused genuine admiration in learned Europe, owing to their variety as well as their cultivated poetic form. They differ from the Russian epic, especially in their contents, which are more simple: each song usually contains only one epic *motif*, whereas the Russian poems are, as a rule, compositions made up of different subjects, and represent a higher and more artistic degree of epic evolution. The greatest merit in the collection of the popular songs of the Southern Slavs is due to Vuk Stefanović Karadžić; his example was followed later by many other collectors.

There is no certainty as to the age of the epic of the Southern Slavs. Some scholars place the beginning of these epic productions as far back as the 12th and 13th centuries; others fix on the 16th century. It is probable that the epic creative faculty of the Southern Slavs did not begin to develop until after the great historical revolutions in the second half of the 14th century. Its highest development is to be placed, therefore, in the 15th century.

As among the Russians, so among the Southern Slavs, heroic songs were composed at first by professional bards, who were educated in special vocal schools. Afterwards they were taken up by popular singers, the *guslari*, so called after the musical

instrument *gusle* (a sort of violin) on which they accompanied their songs.

Historical events are the chief topics of the South Slavic epic; very few nations have preserved the image of their past events in their national poetry so vividly as the Serbs and Bulgarians. First of all, the songs celebrate certain monarchs of the *Nemanjić family* (1168–1371), who are praised for their pious disposition, which they often evinced by founding churches and monasteries. Far richer is the cycle of songs whose central theme is the ill-fated battle on the field of *Kosovo* (1389), with which the Turkish supremacy began. The songs of this cycle describe partly single events in connexion with that battle, partly the principal heroes who took part in the fight (Miloš Obilić, the Czar Lazar, Vuk Branković, the brothers Jugović, etc.). It is curious that the defeat of Kosovo is related as a disaster predestined by God to the Serbian people.

The most beloved hero of the South Slavic epic is *Prince Marko* († 1394). Nearly a hundred songs about him are current, describing his life and heroic deeds, from his birth to his death. They contain very few historical reminiscences; popular singers have connected various Biblical, legendary, and fabulous *motifs* with him, and transformed him into a semi-mythical being. He was educated by mythical beings, *vile* (fairies), who bestowed superhuman power on him. Marko makes use of this power for the benefit of his fellow-men, succours the oppressed on every occasion, and administers stern justice. He hates violence and loves liberty; he sets prisoners free, and willingly helps the unhappy. He is at the same time pious, and undertakes the hardest battles for the Christian faith. When dying, he bequeaths one part of his gold to him who will bury him, the second for the embellishment of churches, and the third to the blind bards that they may sing his glory.

Another cycle represents the historical events after the battle of Kosovo, and describes battles between the Serbs and the Turks down to the complete enslavement of Serbia in 1521. The chief heroes of this cycle are the Serbian monarchs of the family of *Brankovići*, and the *Kings of Hungary* who fought against the Turks. Under the cruel Turkish yoke, these songs took the place of history and poetry among the Southern Slavs. They celebrated not only subjects from the glorious past, but also contemporary events, especially the petty battles of the Slavs in revolt against the Turks. The most recent ones celebrate the wars of liberation of modern times.

Besides these historical subjects, which, of course, the popular singers changed and adorned in various ways according to their imagination, there were included in the living stream of South Slavic epic many *motifs*, partly apocryphal (creation of the world), partly legendary (about incest, immolation of one's own child), and partly fabulous (about the dead brother, immurement of people in buildings, the serpent-bridegroom, the unfaithful mother, etc.). Owing to this great variety of poetic *motifs*, the epic of the Southern Slavs takes its place high above all similar epic products of other nations.

The most notable names in the interpretation of the South Slavic songs are Stojan Novaković, F. Miklošić, V. Jagić, T. Maretić, M. Chalanskij, and Asmus Sørensen.

3. Little Russians.—The heroic songs of the Little Russians (Ukrainians) are called *dumy*. They took their rise among the famous Cossacks, and their authors were professional minstrels, educated in vocal schools, the number of which was very considerable in Ukraine. The name of the present singers of the *dumy* is *kobzari*, from the musical instrument *kobza*, similar to the guitar.

Professional singers used to follow the Cossacks on their expeditions, and give expression to their feelings in melancholy songs. They sing either the battles of the Cossacks with the Tatars and the Turks, or those of the famous Chmelnicki, *ataman* of the Cossacks (in the 17th cent.), against the Poles who oppressed the free Cossacks. Besides the historical events, touching scenes from domestic and family life are described in the *dumy*. The songs of the Little Russians are penetrated with a fervent love of native land and liberty, and a sincere piety. Their melancholy character, as well as their tone and composition, reminds us somewhat of the Psalms of the OT.

The best interpreters of these songs are Kostomarov, Antonović, Dragomanov, Ziteckij, Franko, and Gričenko.

4. The Bohemians and the Poles have many heroic legends; but these did not become subjects of epic poetry. They were noted, however, by old chroniclers. The Bohemian legends deal with the ancestor *Cech*, who came with his suite from the trans-Carpathian regions and settled in Bohemia. Among the pagan Bohemian princes, *Krok* is mentioned as eminent for wisdom, etc. His youngest daughter, *Libuše*, a famous prophetess, chose for her husband *Premysl Oráč* (ploughman), founded *Praha* (Prague), and with her husband gave wise laws to the country. The Poles have similar legends. Their pagan prince *Krak* had a daughter *Vanda*, who reigned after his death, and offered her life for her country's liberty. According to popular legends, the founder of the national dynasty of Poland was the farmer *Piast*; as a reward for the hospitality he showed to two pilgrims, his family was elevated to the throne, instead of the cruel ruler *Popel*, who was devoured by mice.

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J. MÁCHAL.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Teutonic).—

The most explicit reference to the practice of hero-worship among Teutonic peoples occurs in the following passage from Jordanes (*de Getarum Origine*, 13):

'proceres suos, quasi qui fortuna vincebant, non puros homines, sed semi-deos, id est Anses, vocaverunt.'

This, it will be seen, is a parallel to Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 156-173. Trustworthy evidence is, however, necessarily scanty, as the Germanic races adopted Christianity soon after the Heroic Age, or towards its close. The existing records of the heroes date, for the most part, from even later times, and are therefore almost entirely coloured by Christian beliefs and practices. An example of worship paid in the form of libation to a hero of the Heroic Age occurs in *Ynglinga Saga* (41):

'So she (i.e. Hildigunna) took a silver bowl, and filled it, and went before King Hiorvarðr and spoke, "Hail to you all, Ylfings! This in memory of Hrólf Kraki."

Further reference to a similar custom is found in the *Saga of Hákon the Good* (*Heimskringla*, iv. 16): 'Men drank also a cup to their dead kinsmen who had been buried in hoves, and that was called the cup of memory.'

An extreme case of the representation of a hero as a supernatural being is that of Dietrich von Bern; in this instance the hero becomes, not a god, but a demon—a point of view due to ecclesiastical hostility towards the Arian king, and the slayer of the Pope. Hence he occurs in legend as the Wild Huntsman, and the connexion of his

name with places such as the Castle of Saint Angelo and the Amphitheatre of Verona shows him under the aspect of a local, though hardly tutelary, hero (cf. *Deutsche Predigten*, ed. K. Roth, Leipzig, 1839, p. 76; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, Berlin, 1875-78, vol. iii. ch. xxxvi.). A classical parallel may possibly be found in the story of Minos. In Attic tradition—naturally unfavourable—this king is generally represented as 'a tyrant . . . and violent, and an exactor of tribute' (Strabo, x. 4. 8 [p. 476]); while his sea-power, his connexion with the Minotaur, and his position as one of the judges in Hades after his death, combine to endow him with a semi-supernatural character.

In later times, up to the 10th and 11th centuries, we hear among the Scandinavian peoples of beings, apparently human, receiving divine honours. In *Landnámabók* (pt. i. ch. xiv.), mention is made of one Grimr, who 'because of his popularity was worshipped when dead, and called Kamban.' By this name he is twice referred to elsewhere in the same work. Similarly in *Flateyjarbók* (*Olafs Saga hins helga*, ch. vi.) an account is given of Ólafir, brother of Halfdán the Black, who after death is worshipped under the name of Geirstaðarálfr, and receives sacrifices offered to ensure a plentiful harvest. This mention of sacrifice in connexion with the barrow of a dead hero is reminiscent of the cult of the dead to which Burchard of Worms bears witness (*Decreta*, bk. xix. ch. v., 'de Superstitione'): 'the offerings that in certain places are made at the tombs of the dead.' An illustration of the virtue supposed to emanate from the dead body of a hero is found in the story of Halfdán the Black (*Heimskringla*, ii. 9), where we are told that his body was claimed by four districts, each 'thinking that they who got it might expect to have plentiful seasons thereby.' To avoid discord, the body was then divided into four parts, and the resting-place of the head is specially mentioned.

An extreme case, amounting to more than hero-worship, is found in the deification of King Eric of Sweden, narrated by Rimbert in his *Life of Anskar* (ch. 26). Bishop Anskar found his missionary efforts among the Swedes, in the middle of the 9th cent., temporarily checked by a man who claimed to have received a message from the gods. They deplored the decay of their sacrifices, and offered an inducement to renewal of worship:

'If you desire to have more gods, and we are not sufficient, then do we now, with unanimous decision, admit your former King Eric into our community, so that he henceforth is one of the gods.' The people, therefore, 'built a temple to King Eric, who had died long before, and began to offer to him vows and sacrifices as to a god.'

Reference is made to this by Adam of Bremen in his *Gesta* (iv. 26): the Swedes

'also worship gods made from men, to whom they ascribe immortality because of their mighty deeds, as it is recorded that they did with King Eric in the Life of Saint Anskar.'

Deification was probably by no means uncommon, but the circumstances in this case are somewhat unusual.

Reference is frequently found to some supernatural beings who may at one time have been regarded as human, or who have taken certain elements of heroic worship. The euhemeristic account of Frey in *Ynglinga Saga* (4. 13, and *passim*), and of his priest-kinship over the Swedes, if at all reliable, would point to a fusion of human and divine attributes—the priest-king combined with the deity of fertility. Members of the Swedish royal house claimed descent from Frey, and were called Yngvi, from the god's full name Yngvifreyr (*Ynglinga Saga*, 20); similarly Skjöldr appears as the eponymous ancestor of the Danish kings, the Skjöldungar or Scyldingas. The name Yngvi can be traced in Tacitus (*German.* 2), who, basing his account on ancient native poems, states that the

ances of the Germani trace their descent from the god Tuisto and his son Mannus; from the latter spring 'three sons, from whose names those who are nearest to the Ocean are called Ingaevones [probably for Inguæones], the central tribes Herminiones, and the rest Istaevones.' These names occur again in Pliny (*HN* iv. 28) as group-names of the Germani; while in the Frankish genealogy the descent of thirteen nations is traced to three brothers, Ermennus, Inguo, and Istio. From the reference to Ing in the Anglo-Saxon Runic poem, it seems that he must have had a distinct personality, however mythical, and this is borne out by the conception of Frey in the *Ynglinga Saga*. An extension of the idea of Frey's power of controlling the weather is to be traced in the identification of the object of reverence with the offering, and in the idea of the efficacy of a king as a sacrificial victim. Thus in *Ynglinga Saga* (18 and 47) King Dómaldi and King Ólafr are offered up by their subjects to stay the famine and to ensure plenty.

Turning now to women, we may possibly trace a human element in Thorgerðr Hólgabrúðr and Yrpa, her sister. In *Njála Saga* (88), where Hraþpr commits sacrilege in their temple, and in *Jónsvikinga Saga* (44), where Earl Hákon, their votary, sacrifices his son to them in order to gain victory, they are obviously goddesses; but in *Skáldskaparmál* (45), as in Saxo (bk. iii.), Thorgerðr appears in connexion with a character Helgi, who is apparently the eponymous hero of Halogaland. The importance, among Germanic races, of women as prophetesses is attested by Strabo in his description of the part played by 'holy prophetesses' in the sacrifice of captives, and in divination from their blood (vii. 2. 3). Tacitus (*Germ.* 8) says:

'They attribute to them some holy and prophetic power . . . ; many others are venerated, not out of servility, or as if they were deifying mortals.' As examples, he refers to Aurinia [probably for Albruna] and to Veleda, and a further account of the latter is found in his *Historiæ* (iv. 61, 65): 'Veleda, a maiden of the tribe of the Bructeri, who possessed extensive dominion; for by ancient usage the Germans attributed to many of their women prophetic powers, and, as the superstition grew in strength, even actual divinity. . . . She dwelt in a tower, and one of her relations conveyed, like the messenger of a divinity, the questions and answers,' i.e. in her intercourse with the Roman ambassadors.

It is perhaps possible to regard the Germanic reverence for women, and the large part played by them in divination and sacrifice, as a parallel with the importance attached to the cult of the *Matres*. Though this is considered to have been originally a Celtic cult (cf. Roscher, s.v. 'Matres'), it was apparently common to Germany and Gaul. One aspect especially of the *Matres*, whereby they are saluted as 'Matres campestres,' or guardians of the military camp (cf. M. Siebourg, *de Sulevis Campestribus Fatis*, Bonn, 1886), may be compared with the account by Tacitus. It must, however, be borne in mind that the function of the *Matres* is essentially protective, not warlike. If it were possible to connect Bede's interesting reference (*de Temporum Ratione*, 15) to the sacrifices on *Móðraniht*, *id est matrum noctem*, on the one hand, with the *Matres*-cult, and, on the other hand, with the *disablot* of the Scandinavians (cf. *Ynglinga Saga*, 33), a link would be formed between the different phases of Germanic goddess-cult. Similarly, too, if the *disir* may be identified in part with the Valkyries, the human element recurs again, for certain of the Valkyries, e.g. Brynhildr, undoubtedly have some human characteristics.

With regard to the ethical aspect of non-deified heroes in the Teutonic epics, the extant accounts either date from Christian times or are so largely overlaid with Christian thought as to render it difficult to form a definite idea of any rules of conduct governing their lives. As far as we can

gather from the records, the chief virtues throughout the Heroic Ages seem to have been courage and generosity; the combination of the two would appear to have been the ideal, but proof of either sufficed to win fame, and thus to attain the real object of a hero's existence, as Beowulf confesses:

'Let him who can, win for himself glory before he dies; that is the best thing that can come to a knight in after times, when he is no more' (1387 ff.).

The individual impatience of all restraint resulted in faults of excess, and crimes of passion and savagery. Revenge was not only allowed, but was a duty, and was taken not only for shedding of blood, but also for lesser wrongs; thus Egil revenges himself on Armód for scanty hospitality, by insulting him and blinding him in one eye (*Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar*, 75). One virtue, however, does appear clearly—personal loyalty and honourable devotion, as that of a retainer to his lord. It may be objected that this was won and retained chiefly by gifts, but proof of its power is given even by foreign historians; thus, when Folchere (Phulcaris) dies, overpowered by the Franks, 'upon his body his followers fell to a man' (Agathias, i. 15). Treachery, infidelity, and cunning were hated, but were probably largely practised, especially in the interests of self. The tendency of the age was individualistic, and its annals have many dark records; but it may be urged in extenuation that the aspect of heroic life and deeds which would naturally appear in history and song is one-sided, and omits far more than it records.

LITERATURE.—No definite literature on the subject exists. Compare the references quoted in the course of the article, and such general works as E. Mogk, in Paul, *Grundriss der germ. Philologie* 2, iii. (Strassburg, 1900); E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902.

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HESIOD.—For the Greeks of the 5th cent. B.C. Homer and Hesiod stood side by side as the two great poet masters: Homer the singer of war and adventure, Hesiod the inspired teacher of practical wisdom. Thus Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 1030-36) puts into the mouth of Æschylus these words:

'Consider from the beginning how useful the noble poets have been. Orpheus taught us mystic rites and to refrain from murder; Mousaios taught us healing of diseases and oracles; Hesiod taught us the tilling of the earth, the seasons of crops, ploughing; and the divine Homer, whence got he honour and glory save from this, that he taught men good things—even marshalling of troops, deeds of valour, arming of men?'

The contrast between the Homeric and the Hesiodic epic is concisely put in the words which, as Hesiod tells us, the Muses addressed to him when they gave him his call to poetry (*Theog.* 26 ff.): 'Shepherds of the fields, evil things of shame, bellies only! We know to speak full many things that wear the guise of truth, and know also when we will to utter truth.' To tell 'true things' is the characteristic of didactic poetry.

The *locus classicus* as to the poems attributed to Hesiod in antiquity is Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ix. 31. 4 f.:

'The Boeotians who dwell round Helicon record it as the traditional opinion that Hesiod wrote no other poem than the *Works*; and from that they take away the Preface (i.e. 1-10), saying that the poem begins with the lines on the Strifes (i.e. 11 f.). And they showed me a leaden tablet where the fountain (Hippocrene) is, for the most part, destroyed by time, and on it is inscribed the *Works*. But there is another and different opinion to the effect that Hesiod composed a large number of epics, those on women, and the so-called *Great Poet*, and the *Theogony*, and a poem on the seer Melampus, and how Theseus descended into Hades along with Peirithoos, and all the *Adices* to *Cheiron* for the instruction of *Achilles*, and all that is embraced by the *Works* and *Days*. These same people say also that Hesiod received instruction in prophecy from the Acarnanians. And there exist prophetic verses which I myself have read, and *Explanations of Portents*.'

Fragments of most of these poems have come down to us, and we possess in an approximately complete form the *Works* and *Days*, and the *Theo-*